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INDIA AND JAVA

(Second edition, revised and enlarged)

PART I

(HISTORY)

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FOREWORD

In offering to the public this new and revised edition of the Greater India Society's Bulletin No. 5, an apology is needed for the unfortunate delay that has occurred in its publication. This has been largely due to the fact that both authors had to stay at a great distance from the Press where the work was printed.

In the first part of the present work the author Dr. B. R. Chatterji has further availed himself of his knowledge of the Dutch sources to revise and bring up-to-date the subject matter of the first edition.

The second part, which is altogether new, consists of a *corpus* of Sanskrit inscriptions from Java, Sumatra and Borneo—lands of originally alien tongues and peoples but afterwards completely transfused by contact with the superior culture of India. In this part while Dr. Chatterjee has with his usual industry collected all the inscriptions, the task of editing and translating them has been undertaken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti to whom the Society conveys its warmest thanks.

At the present time when India's fitness for undertaking the responsibilities of a complete national life is being judged at the bar of the world's opinion, it is to be hoped that this modest narrative of her cultural achievement in a remote corner of South-Eastern Asia in the past will not fail to awaken a wide and a keen interest.

In conclusion, a word of acknowledgment is due to the Prabasi Press for the unfailing courtesy which it has extended to us at every stage of publication of the present work.

Calcutta,
April, 1933

U. N. Ghoshal,
Hon. Secretary,
Greater India Society

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this Bulletin I have tried to give a general idea of Indian culture of Java and Sumatra in a popular way. In this connection I desire to express my indebtedness to Dr. Otto Blagden, Dean of the School of Oriental Studies, London, who introduced me to the standard Dutch works on the subject, guided me in my studies on the history of *Insulindia* and read with me several important texts. I am specially thankful to Dr. Blagden for his help as regards the sections on Shrivijaya and the Javanese Ramayana.

In the second edition I have added two more chapters. The first and second chapters have been revised according to the new information which Prof. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* has now made available.

B. R. C.

CONTENTS OF PART I

AN OUTLINE OF INDO-JAVANESE HISTORY

THE material on which Sir Stamford Raffles based his history of ancient Java, *viz.*, comparatively recent Javanese tradition, has but little historical value. We have to go back to the ancient inscriptions of the Malay Archipelago, contemporary notices in Chinese annals and Kavi chronicles, like the Nagarakrtagama and the Pararaton, in order to reconstruct the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history. Within the last thirty years Dutch scholars like Kern, Brandes and Krom have accomplished much in this direction. Indeed Dr. N. J Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* will for a long time remain the standard work on this subject.

The mention of Java in the Ramayana, where Sugriva sends out searching parties in quest of Sita to the four cardinal points, is well-known. Professor Sylvain Lévi would ascribe to this passage a date not later than the first century A. D. Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography about the middle of the 2nd century A. D., refers to Java as Jabadieu (Yavadvipa)—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley. Thus the Sanskrit name of the island was already known to foreigners. Chinese chronicles mention that about 132 A. D. Tiao Pien (Deva Varman ?), the king of Ye-tiao (Yavadvipa), sent an embassy to China. The Emperor presented to Tiao Pien a seal of gold and a violet ribbon.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered come not from Java but from eastern Borneo. They are not dated, but on palaeographical grounds they have been assigned to the fourth century A. D. The script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and that of the earliest inscriptions of Champa and Kamboja. The Borneo inscriptions are, however, much earlier than the Pallava inscriptions and it is in this island that we first find this script. The language is tolerably good Sanskrit. The inscriptions tell us of one Ashvavarman, the founder of a noble race. Foremost among his sons was Mulavarman, the lord of kings, who had celebrated a *bahusuvarnaka* sacrifice, for which ceremony stone *yupas* (sacrificial posts) had been prepared by Brahmans. Fragments of these stone posts have been discovered along with the inscription.

The next series of inscriptions tell us of Purnavarman of Western Java. These, too, are not dated, but, on account of their archaic character, have been ascribed to the middle

of the 5th. century A. D. The script is the same which later on became known as Pallava *grantha* and which is found in early Borneo and in the Indo-Chinese epigraphy of Champa and Kamboja. Purnavarman calls himself the lord of Taruma-nagara (near Batavia), and one of the inscriptions refers to the construction of two canals, Chandrabhâgâ and Gomati. It is to be noted that both the names are those of rivers of North India. On two of the inscriptions the foot-prints of Purnavarman himself are carved and compared with those of Vishnu, while on a third the footmarks of the king's elephant are cut into the stone.

It might have been during the reign of Purnavarman or one of his immediate predecessors that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien reached West Java from Ceylon. Fa-hien writes that in this country there were many Brahmans but that the Buddhist religion here was not of sufficient importance to be worth mentioning. Then he mentions that after a short stay he sailed for Canton (in 413 A. D.) in a merchant vassel which had 200 Hindu traders on board.

Buddhism was probably first preached in Java by Gunavarman, a prince of Kashmir, in 423 A. D. From Java Gunavarman proceeded to China in a ship belonging to a Hindu of the name of Nandi.

The next mention of Java is also from a Chinese source. We learn from the history of the first Sung dynasty that, in the year 435 A. D, the king of Ja-va-da whose name was Sri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo (Shripada Dharâvarman ?) sent an envoy to the Chinese court to present a letter.

Another Chinese chronicle, which covers the first half of the 6th century A. D., describes a kingdom of the name of Lan-ga-su on the N. W. coast of Java. "The people say that this kingdom was established more than 400 years ago. It once happened that a king of this country was very unsatisfactory in his rule. One of his relations was a clever man, and therefore the people began to turn towards him ... The king drove him out of the realm, whereupon his kinsman went to India and there married the daughter of a ruler of that country. When the king of Lan-ga-su died, the exiled prince was called back by the nobles to be their king..." The son of this king sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor, which is characterised by a fervent Buddhist tone.

It seems that towards the end of the 6th century, Western Java fell into decay and Central Java rose into prominence. The new history of the T'ang dynasty mentions a kingdom of the name of Kalinga in Central Java and describes embassies which came from this kingdom and from Bali in the period 637-649.

"In 674 A. D. the people of this realm took as their ruler a lady of the name of Sima. Her rule was most excellent, even things dropped on the road were not picked up. An Arab chief (an Arab colony existed on the Western coast of Sumatra from an early date) sent a bag of gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people avoided it in walking, and it remained untouched for three years. Once the Crown-Prince stepped over that gold and Queen Sima was so angry with him that she wanted to have him executed. There was however a compromise, and the prince's toes, which had touched the bag of gold, were cut off."

We hear no more of this kingdom of Kalinga in Java. Our next source of information is the Janggal inscription of Central Java, of the Shaka year 654 (732 A. D.), the first dated record which we have got as yet from Java. The script (Pallava *Grantha*) and the language (Sanskrit) both closely resemble the characters and the style of the Han Chey inscription of Bhavavarman, the king who reigned in Kamboja about the middle of the 6th century. This Central Javanese inscription is a Shaiva document and refers to the reconstruction of a Shaiva temple on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kunjara Kunja. Probably this Kunjara Kunja is to be identified with the *ashrama* of Agastya of that name in South India. Two kings of Central Java, Sannaha and Sanjaya (father and son), are mentioned here as having ruled long on this earth with justice like Manu. Perhaps the Shiva temples on the Dieng plateau should be ascribed to this period. A later Javanese chronicle describes extensive conquests of Sanjaya beyond the boundaries of Java. Princes of Sumatra, Bali and the Malay Peninsula are said to have yielded after severe fighting and acknowledged his supremacy.

Another Shaiva inscription discovered at Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated 682 Shaka (760 A. D.), describes the construction of a black stone image of Agastya Rishi. This was done by the order of king Gajayâna, the benefactar of Brahmans and the worshipper of Agastya, who had seen an image of the Rishi constructed out of *Devadaru* wood by his ancestors. "In order to get rain, this image of Agastya Kumbhayoni was consecrated in *kumbha-lagna* by the strong-minded king in the fine *Maharshi-bhavana*."

It may be mentioned in this connection that Agastya is referred to again in another inscription which is dated a century later (785 S.=863 A. D.) and which is partly in Sanskrit verse and partly in Kavi. Kavi is a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect. There Agastya is also invoked under the Javanese name of Valaing. A temple of the name of Bhadraloka is mentioned in this inscription as having been built by Agastya himself, and in the conclud-

ing lines there is a prayer offered for the peace and prosperity of the descendants of the Maharshi who, it seems, had settled down in Java. Prof. Krom, however, thinks that the name Agastya here might refer to some person living in the 9th century A. D. who bore the name of the great seer.

In the meantime, however, important political changes had come over Central Java, which had passed, about the middle of the 8th century, from the hands of the Shaiva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra. Chinese records tell us that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang existed in Sumatra in the 5th century A. D. A learned French savant, M. Cœdès, has made a most remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient history of Further India by identifying Palembang with Shrivijaya, the San-fot-si of the Chinese. We now know that the Shailendra dynasty of Shrivijaya ruled over a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam (near Madras) at the expense of a king of this Sumatran dynasty with the permission of a Chola prince. A Nalanda copper plate of Devapâla records the grant of some villages by the Pâla sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a monastery at Nalanda which was built at the instance of Bâlaputradeva of the Shailendra dynasty of Suvar*n*advipa (Sumatra) out of his devotion to Buddhism. Evidently therefore Shrivijaya or Palembang in Sumatra had become a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism since the days of I-tsing, who towards the end of the 7th century described it as a great centre of Hinayana learning.

To come back to Java, an inscription found near the lovely temple of Kalasan in Central Java and dated 700 Shaka, (778 A. D.) tells us that this temple of Târâ was built at the command of the Shailendra king of Shrivijaya in his own kingdom. Apparently the Javanese possessions were governed by viceroys on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. A remarkable fact is that this inscription is not in the Pallava script of South India but in a North Indian alphabet. In my work on ancient Cambodia I have tried to show that the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism and a North Indian script in Cambodia should also be associated with the dominating influence of Shrivijaya. Moreover, this North Indian script of Java and Cambodia is obviously more akin to Bengali than to the Devanagari characters. This feature and the curious combination of Mahayana Buddhism with Trantric elements and Shaiva doctrines to be found henceforth in Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, have led me to suggest in the above-mentioned work that from the 8th century onwards, South Indian influence seems to be on the wane in Further India—which, in religion and in art, comes

more and more under the sway of Pala Bengal and Magadha. In this connection Prof. Krom states : "Indian Buddhism in this period had a recognised centre in the University of Nalanda—which centre had a far-reaching influence on the whole of India as well as remote colonies as far away as as China. . .Therefore for (the true source of) the Mahayanist finds in Java we must look first of all to Nalanda."

Central Java did not languish under the rule of the Shrivijaya kings. This is the classic period of Javanese architecture. Borobodur—that epic in stone—is also to be ascribed to this period. The image of Avalokiteshvara in the Chandi Mendoot is one of the happiest efforts of Javanese sculpture and can stand comparison with the best specimens of the Gupta school. Again, by a Shailendra king, as a proof of the study of Sanskrit, was edited a Sanskrit glossary (Amaramâlâ) in Kavi (Old Javanese). About 863 A. D. the Sumatran period of Javanese history comes to an end—as an inscription, bearing the date 785 Shaka era (863 A. D.), has been discovered in Central Java which commemorates the cult of Agastya.

About this period the Shaiva princes, who had been ousted from Central Java and who had settled down in the eastern portion of the island, appear to have won back their lost territory from the governors of the Shailendra kings of Shrivijaya. Thus was founded the Hindu kingdom of Mataram in Central Java which lasted apparently from 863 A. D. to 915 A. D. Daksha (915 A. D.) seems to be the last ruler of Mataram and to be the builder of Prambanam. After his reign Central Java seems to have been ruled by governors appointed by East Javanese sovereigns. Wawa was one of these overlords of Mataram. It was during his reign that the 'Minto inscription' (924 A. D.) was written. It is so called because Sir S. Raffles sent this inscription to Lord Minto in Scotland during the period of the British occupation of Java. It is a grant for a temple. With Wawa's death Central Java drops out altogether from Javanese history. The great building activity continued in Central Java under these Mataram princes ; for to this period of Hindu revival belongs the famous Prambanam group of temples with its magnificent reliefs depicting scenes of the Ramayana. About 828 A. D. (the close of Wawa's reign) occurred a great disaster, probably a volcanic eruption, and Central Java was abandoned.

The scene now shifts to Eastern Java where rose a powerful State under Mpoo Sindok who was at first a minister of Wawa. During Sindok's reign lived the Buddhist author of the Subhuti Tantra, a text which attained fame afterwards. His great-grand-daughter Mahendradattâ (महेन्द्र दत्ता) was

married to Udayana, the governor of Bali, which island had already come under the sway of the East Javanese princes. The offspring of this union, as we are told in an inscription, was the great Erlangga. While only 15 years of age, this prince had to fly from his enemies and take refuge in the forest of *Vanagiri*. He and his followers lived with the ascetics in the forest clad in the bark of trees and partaking of the same food as these hermits. He then made a vow that if he was ever restored to his throne, he would build an *ashrama* in the forest—a vow, which the inscription tells us, he carried out on a magnificent scale. In the Shaka year 957 (1035 A. D.), after having overthrown his enemies in the east and west and, like a fiery dragon, having burnt the *anârya* (non-Aryan) south, Erlangga was enthroned as the overlord of Javadvipa. It was during his reign that some of the most renowned Kavi (Old Javanese) poems were composed—Arjuna-Vivâha, Virâta-parva and a translation of the Mahabharata. The Ramayana may also have been translated into Kavi during this reign.

In 1042 King Erlangga again took to a hermit's life after dividing his kingdom between his two sons. The partition was effected by a learned sage, Bharada, who had acquired '*siddhi*.' With a pitcher of water, which came down from the heavens by the magic power of the great master, the boundary line between the two kingdoms of Kediri and Jangala was marked out.

Of Jangala little is known ; but Kediri or Daha has made itself illustrious by the contributions its poets have made to Kavi literature. As a Dutch scholar has written : "The Javanese of to-day still looks back on Kediri's golden age as the most perfect realisation of his romantic dreams." About 1104 A. D. flourished at the court of king Varshajaya the poet Triguna, who was the author of the Kavi poems Sumanasantaka and Krishnâyana. About 1120 A. D. reigned Kameshvara who has been identified with the famous hero Raden Panji of the Panji romance, still so popular in Java. He was married to Chandra Kirana—a princess of Jangala—"with whom the king always sat on the golden lion-throne," and he was the hero of all sorts of adventures. His court-poet was Mpu Dharmaja, who composed the Smara-dahana ('the burning of the God of Love').

Between 1135 and 1155 A.D. Jayabaya, who is remembered to this day in Java, was on the Kediri throne. During his reign the poet Penoolooh wrote the Bhârata Yuddha and the Harivamsa. Later on Mahabharata episodes were adapted in such a way that the scene of the great battle was shifted to Java and the heroes were transformed into Javanese princes and thus became the ancestors of noble

Javanese families. King Jayabaya is described in the Bhârata Yuddha as a great conqueror who succeeded in overcoming even the ruler of Sumatra. The tradition still exists in Java that Jayabaya will come back and restore the golden age. He was a Vaish*n*ava prince.

The rulers of Kediri also made their influence felt in foreign relations. In 1129 A. D. Kâmeshvara received from the Chinese Emperor the title of king. We learn from Arab sources that Javanese merchants traded up to the vicinity of Sophala (on the southeast coast of Africa) opposite Madagascar. There were numerous Negro slaves at the court of the Javanese princes. Inded M. Gabriel Ferrand has been led to the conclusion by linguistic evidence and by the accounts of Arab and early Portuguese travellers that Madagascar was colonised in the first centuries of the Christian era by Hinduised emigrants from Sumatra and Java. In the 10th century, he states, there was a new migration to Madagascar from the Malay Archipelago.

Early in the 13th century Kediri had to submit to the adventurer Ken Arok with whose romantic career we have now to deal. We have ample material for the history of Java from the 13th century onwards, for both the Nagarak*r*tagama and the Pararaton, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, cover the Singasari and the Majapahit periods. The Pararaton continues its narrative up to 1478 A. D., *i. e* the end of the Hindu period of Javanese history, while the Nagarak*r*tagama stops in the year 1365 during the reign of Hyam Wuruk—the author Prapancha being the court-poet of that great monarch.

The Pararaton begins with the story of Ken Arok—the ancestor of the rulers of the Singasari and Majapahit kingdoms. He is described as the issue of Brahma, the incarnation of Vish*n*u and a near relation of Shiva. Being thus a superman, he hesitated at nothing. He was guilty of theft, murder, and of every conceivable crime. One day, while he sat in a gambling den, he met a Brahman who had come from India for the sole purpose of seeing him. This Brahman had come to know from supernatural sources in India that Vish*n*u had incarnated himself in Java in the person of Ken Arok. With the Brahman's help Ken Arok got into the service of the prince of Singasari (or Tumapel), a vassal chief of Kediri. Then he fell in love with the wife of the prince, Dedes—the most beautiful woman in Java, of whom had been foretold that her husband would be a Chakravarti monarch. After a series of disreputable adventures the Kediri prince was disposed of by means of a dagger. Ken Arok ascended the throne of Singasari in 1220, married Queen Dedes and soon reduced the neighbouring principalities of Jangala and Kediri to submission. He assumed

the title of Rajasa Sang Amurvabhumi and had succeeded in consolidating his conquests before he was murdered in 1227. The celebrated image of Prajna-paramita, perhaps the most exquisite specimen of the Indo-Javanese school of sculpture, is ascribed to his reign, and is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

The reign of K*r*tanagara 1268-1292 A D.) the fourth ruler of Sangasari after Ken Arok, was full of events which formed a turning-point in Javanese history. K*r*tanagara, even in his life-time, was adored as Shiva-Buddha but in reality he was weak and frivolous and brought disasters on his State. Without taking care to make his position secure at home, he frittered away his resources in expeditions to Malayu (in Sumatra), Bali, Bakulpura (in S. W. Borneo), etc. His inordinate pride led him to insult the envoy of the Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan. Meanwhile a vassal of his, Jayakatong of Kediri (or Daha), rose in revolt against him. K*r*tanagara's son-in-law, Raden Vijaya, tried in vain to resist the rebel chief, who made his entry into Singasari. K*r*tanagara was slain, and Vijaya escaped to Madura (the island to the north of Java). He came back again, however, entered the service of his former enemy Jayakatong and served him with a carefully feigned faithfulness. With that prince's permission Raden Vijaya founded a new town on a waste land which came to he known as Majapahit (*Bilva-tikta*) from a *bael* tree with bitter fruit found growing on the site. Vijaya was all the while biding his opportunity, which came in 1293 A. D., with the arrival of the Chinese troops sent by Kubilai Khan to avenge the insult offered to his envoy. At the instigation of Raden Vijaya the Chinese generals moved against Jayakatong of Kediri, who perished in the conflict. His enemy being thus disposed of, Raden Vijaya then attacked the Chinese troops, who, astonished at this treachery, retreated to their ships and sailed away to China without having accomplished anything. Kubilai Khan was highly incensed at the failure of this expedition and condemned one of his generals, a Mongol, to receive seventeen lashes.

Raden Vijaya, having got rid of all his foes, ascended the throne of Majapahit, in 1294 A. D., and, assuming the title of K*r*tarajasa Jayavardhana, made himself the overlord of East Java. A fine statute of this first sovereign of Majapahit, erected in the temple built over his ashes, represents him as Vish*n*u with all the sacred symbols. This practice of identifying deceased monarchs with the divinities they worshipped in their life-time was common in ancient Cambodia as well as in Java.

The son of K*r*tarajasa, who succeeded him, was a

worthless ruler. The third sovereign of Majapahit was the great queen Tribhuvanottungadevi Jayavish*n*uvardhani—the eldest daughter of K*r*tarajasa. She shared her royal position with her mother Gâyatri (a devout Buddhist) and her sister Râjadevi. Her husband, the Prince-Consort, was the chief justice of the realm. It was, however, Gajamada, the prime-minister, who was the most masterful personality at her court. One day in a cabinet meeting he declared that he would not touch the income from his estate till West Java, Bali and the chain of islands to the east of it, Bakulpura in S.-W. Borneo, Palembang or Shrivijaya in Sumatra and Pahang and Singapura (Singapore) in the Malay Peninsula were conquered by Majapahit. This solemn vow was received with jeers and contemptuous laughter. Gajamada, keenly feeling the insult, laid his complaint before the queen. The scoffers had to clear out and Gajamada received the royal permission to carry out his policy.

Bali was overrun in 1343. The powerful prince of Badahulu in Bali was slain and as he was the over-lord of the chain of islands to the east of Java and of Madura and a portion of Celebes—this was a great triumph for Majapahit.

Probably the other conquests were achieved during the next reign, that of Hayam Wuruk, under whom Gajamada continued to serve as prime-minister.

To this period belong the curious inscriptions of Adityavarman—a prince of Sumatra who was a relation and a vassal of the queen of Majapahit. The language of these inscriptions is very obsure but they clearly show the prevalence of Tantric doctrines in Sumatra and Java. De Heer Moens, in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1924 (3 and 4), thus interprets these stanzas, which were obviously meant to mystify the reader :—'In 1269 Shaka in the month of Jyaisthya, Prince Adityavarman received on a cremation-ground the highest consecration, thereby gaining salvation, becoming a Kshetrajna, under the name of Vishesa Dhârani,—enthroned in solitary state (on a heap of corpses), laughing violently and drinking blood—while his Mahâprasâda (*i.e.* the human sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around an awful smell, which however to the initiate seemed like the perfume of a million flowers." After his death Adityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokiteshvara.

In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to K*r*tanagara (the last King of Singasari) by Prapancha—the author of the Nagarak*r*tagama—who was living at the court of Majapahit at this time. We have already mentioned that K*r*tanagara was supposed to be an

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incarnation of Shiva-Buddha. He also received consecration on a cremation-ground and thus became identified with the Jina Akshobhya. The Nagarak*r*tagama also refers to the Tantric Chakra rites diligently carried out by K*r*tanagara, who was also an adept in still darker practices.

The Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, which belongs to this period and which calls itself a text of Mantrayana Mahayana, also bears the impress of Tantrism. A passage in it refers to Brahma, Vish*n*u and Shiva as the emanations of the Dhyani Buddha Vairochana.

This digression on the prevalence of Tantric doctrines in Java and Sumatra would serve to show how the decadence of both Hinduism and Buddhism paved the way for the success of Islam in these islands.

To return to Queen Jayavish*n*uvardhani, she withdrew from the affairs of state when her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the "young cock") became of age in 1350 A. D. The reign of Hyam Wuruk (his royal title was Shri Rajasanagara) saw the great expansion of Majaphit. This was due mostly to the genius of Gajamada, who, till his death in 1364, continued loyally to serve the king. Both the Nagarak*r*tagama and the Pararaton give us a list of the countries which, during this reign, belonged to Majapahit and this list is of a quite respectable length. According to it the empire of Majapahit included at this time all the islands between Java and New Guinea—the south and western part of the last-mentioned island also acknowledging the sway of Majaphit. Moreover Borneo, South and West Celebes, Buton, Buru, Ceram (Ambon), Banda, Banggai, the W. Molucca Isles, Talaut, etc. are all included in this list of dependencies. Then we come to the petty islets between Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. On the Malay Peninsula itself Kedah, Kelang, Singapore, Pahang, Kelantan, etc. belonged to Majapahit. Finally the great island of Sumatra, including Palembang or Shrivijaya, formed part of this powerful empire. Thus was carried out the scheme of Gajamada on a larger scale than he had planned originally. A part at least of these extensive conquests was achieved by an admiral of the name of Nala during the reign of Hyam Wuruk's mother.

After enumerating the conquests, the Nagarak*r*tagama mentions the countries in alliance with Majapahit. Ayodhya and Rajapuri (both in Siam), Marutma (Martaban), Kambuja, Champa and Yavana (North Annam) were steadfast allies (*mitra*) of Majapahit. Madura, it should be noted, was not regarded as foreign territory—it was reckoned as part of Java itself.

These islands brought their tribute regularly to the court of Majapahit. Owing to the desire of H. M. Hyam Wuruk to further the general welfare, Mantrins and Bhujangas

(learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after State affairs in these distant possessions. Shaiva Bhujangas, besides their political work, were allowed to introduce the Shaiva cult wherever they went, so that it might not dwindle away. For the Bhujangas of the Buddhist faith the whole of the West of Java was a forbidden ground as in ancient times there were no Buddhists there. But as regards Eastern Java and the islands to the east, the Buddhist Bhujangas were permitted to visit them. Two eminent Buddhist monks, Bharada and Kutaran, established a system of land-tenure in Bali on the Majapahit model.

The efforts of the Bhujangas, Prapancha tells us, met with great success. Whatever regions dare trangress the royal ordinances were attacked and severely punished by the admirals (*Jaladhi-mantri*) of Majapahit, several of whom won great renown.

"Five is the number of the blameless ministers," to quote the Nagarakṛtagama "who protect the realm." Members of the royal family ruled over many of the different parts of the kingdom but they appeared very often at the court of Majapahit to pay homage to the king. The principal Queen, with the title of Shri Parameshvari, was Sushumna Devi who is described by the poet Prapancha as an incarnation of Rati.

The Nagarakṛtagma gives a detailed account of the capital Majapahit (*Bilva-tikta*) with its deep tanks, avenues of *kesar* and *champak* trees, public squares, bazaars palaces and the royal pavilion (the विताम hall) where the prime-minister (the *pati*), the Aryas and the "trusted five" (the cabinet) approached the king of Tikta-shriphala (Majapahit). In the eastern part of the capital dwelt the Shaiva Brahmans, of whom the very reverend Brahmarâja was the chief. In the southern part lived the Buddhists—the head of the Sangha being the Sthavira Rengkannadi. In the western part there were the houses of the Kshatriyas, ministers, etc.

As far as we can gather from contemporary sources, Buddhism flourished in aristocratic circles. That would explain the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which rose during this period. But it did not enter so much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is overwhelmingly Brahmanic. Even Buddhist poets wrote on episodes of the Hindu epics during the Majapahit period.

Dr. Vogel states that at this time Javanese plastic art presents a type which is much more Polynesian than Indian. This is to be noted especially in the highly fantastic sculptured panels of Chandi Panataran in Eastern Java representing Ramayana scenes. Here we find strange figures of warriors, demons and monkeys mingled with decorative clouds in the quaintest possible way. But this Polynesian

style is confined to the exterior decoration of the temples of this period. The images inside the shrines are still of the genuine Indian type of Central Java, and many of these images bear inscriptions denoting their names in North-Indian characters which, from the specimens I have seen, resemble Bengali more than Nagari.

After the death of the great Hyam Wuruk in 1389 A. D. a rapid decline set in. A civil war between the son-in-law and the son of the deceased monarch proved disastrous for Majapahit. North Borneo, Indragiri in Sumatra and Malaka took this opportunity to shake off the Javanese yoke. A terrible famine wrought havoc in Majapahit itself.

Of the last rulers of Majapahit we know but little, as the Pararaton gives but the most meagre information. During the reign of Suhitâ, the grand-daughter of Hyam Wuruk, Kediri or Daha became independent under a rebel chief of the name of Bhre Daha. She was succeeded by her younger brother, Kṛtavijaya, who married a princess of Champa. This queen favoured Islam which must have strengthened its foothold in Java during this reign. She died in 1448.

According to the tradition still current in Java, the generosity of the last monarch of Majapahit, Bra Vijaya V, towards the Mahomedans met with ingratitude. The last words of the dying king, after he had seen the overthrow of his kingdom in 1478, were that foreigners would come some day from far over the seas and avenge him; and the Dutch claim to have fulfilled the prophecy.

But according to an inscription discovered by Dr. Krom, it was a Hindu prince, Ranavijaya, who dealt the death-blow to Mahapahit in 1478. Ranavijaya belonged to Kediri and was probably the son of Bhre Daha who revolted during the reign of Suhitâ. The city was not however destroyed, as in 1521 we find it still mentioned as an important place. But after 1478 Majapahit ceased to be the capital, and the more important families fled to Bali. Ranavijaya or his successors must have been swept away ere long by the rapidly rising tide of Islam. For the Muslim period of Java begins from the opening years of the 16th century.

A few words on Bali would probably be not out of place here. The first copper-plates of Bali appear about 896 A. D. The first Balinese king mentioned in an inscription (c. 922 A. D.) is of the name of Ugrasena. These inscriptions are in old Balinese which is different from Kavi. Hinduised Bali seems to have developed in this early period on independent lines. It was not much influenced by Java as yet. It was colonised directly from India. It was during the reign of Erlangga that the first close relations commenced with East Java.

According to the Javanese accounts, a number of Shaiva Brahmans came (probably from India) to Majapahit just before its fall in 1478 and then fled to Bali. The Balinese Brahmans trace their descent from Padanda (Pandit) Vahu Ravuh—a name which means, "the newly arrived." The five existing subdivisions of Brahmans in Bali are supposed to be descended from him and his five wives. Buddhism still survives in Bali but Hinduism is in the ascendant. At great feasts a Buddhist priest is invited to join four Shaiva pandits. Ida is the title of Brahmans, Deva that of Kshatriyas, Gusti of Vaishyas, while the Shudras are given a name of courtesy—Bâpe and Meme (बाबा, मा). The Kshatriya princes of Bali trace their descent from Deva Agung—a Majapahit prince who settled down in Bali. For a long time the Balinese chiefs did not forget Java. Easternmost Java and Western Bali have been rendered desolate by continuous wars between Muslim Java and Bali. Unsuccessful in Java, the Balinese princes conquered some of the islands to the east, Lombok, etc.

Only certain portions of the Vedas have survived in Bali. The Brahmanda Purana is probably complete. Under the heading of Tuturs we have a miscellaneous collection of Sanskrit texts on Hindu law and polity, Râjaniti, etc. This is almost all the Sanskrit literature Bali still possesses.

The Ramayana (which has not got the Uttara Kanda) exists in Bali in the Kavi language. The Uttara Kanda forms a separate work by itself. The name of the Mahabharata is not known in Bali but six of its parvas exist in a complete form in Kavi. The rest are incomplete.

Then there are the chronicles or ballads—*e. g.* the Usana Java and the Usana Bali. The last calls the island *Balianka*—the lap of the strong and valiant—thus fitly expressing the bold, warlike spirit of the Balinese.

SHRIVIJAYA—THE EMPIRE OF THE SHAILENDRA MONARCHS OF SUMATRA

The archaeologicl monuments of the Hindu period in Sumatra are of small importance compared with those of Java. Moreover, in the last two centuries of the Hindu period of Javanese history under the Majapahit dynasty (1294-1480), Java acquired a pre-eminent position in the Archipelago. Thus the other islands were quite thrown into the shade by Java which alone was considered to be important. But we must remember that Majapahit rose into importance only at the end of the 13th century A. D. and that both Java and Sumatra had been Hinduised more than a thousand years before that period.

From Chinese sources we learn that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang (formerly known as Shrivijaya) existed in Sumatra in the 5th century A.D. In the 10th century this kingdom of Sanfotsi or Che-li-fo-chi (the Chinese rendering of Shrivijaya) ruled over 15 subject states. In the 10th century this Sumatran kingdom was conquered by Java but soon recovered its independence. Early in the 13th century we find again a list of the subject countries of Shrivijaya. In the 14th century it came under the sway of the Majapahit Kingdom of Java. But till very recently Sumatra was never considered to be very important in comparison with Java.

M. Georges Cœdes has now given (in his Royaume de Shrivijaya, 1918) strong reasons for reconsidering this opinion. He was the first to identify Palembang with Shrivijava. In the 7th century A.D., Shrivijaya included the isle of Bangka between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. In the 8th century it appearss as a sovereign power as far north in the Malay Peninsula as the Bay of Bandom. In the 9th century this Sumatran kingdom is mentioned in connection with a monastery at Nalanda in an inscription of Devapala of Bengal. In this inscription the King's title is given as *Shailendra-vanshatilako yavabhumipalah.* * * * * In the 10th century Chola inscriptions ascribe a Buddhist temple built at Negapatam (near Madras) to the Shailendra kings of Shrivijaya. Shortly after that the Cholas of Southern India attacked Shrivijaya and conquered it for a short time. But it soon recovered its power. Chau Ja-Kua, a Chinese author of the 13th century, mentions many places in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, etc., as acknowledging its supremacy.

The Shailendra, dynasty of the kingdom of Shrivijaya in Sumatra professed Mahayana Buddhism. Now there is a

temple in Central Java, the shrine of Kalasan erected in honour of the Mahayana divinity Tara, which was constructed in 778 A.D., by the order of a Buddhist King of the Shailendra dynasty of Shrivijaya. As the Kalasan inscription mentions that the temple was in the King's own kingdom, we must conclude that Central Java was included in the empire of the Shailendra sovereigns in the second half of the 8th century. These Sumatran monarchs built on a grand scale in Java (Borobodur, etc.) and were represented in that island by their viceroys. *

It was probably also in the 8th century that the Shrivijaya fleet ravaged the coast of Annam (Champa) and penetrated as far as the capital of Cambodia. A Champa inscription of 787 A.D. states that the armies of 'Javâ' (spelt Javâ, not Yava) coming on board ships burnt the shrine of Shri Bhadrâdhipatîshvara. Java here means Shrivijaya and not Java as both Java and Sumatra were called Java alike by foreigners. Kamboja (Cambodia) also did not escape these inroads. It is from the narrative of an Arab traveller of the 9th century that we get a dramatic account of it. The Arab merchant Sulayman had travelled in India and China, and his accounts, written in 851 A.D., were commented upon by Abu Zayd Hassan about 916 A.D. In his description of the kingdom of Zâbaj (or Sribuza—the Arab name for Shrivijaya) occurs the following passage† :— "The King (of Zâbai) is known by the title of Maharaja . . . He rules over numerous islands. The islands of Sribuza, Rami (Ramini is another name for Sumatra—obviously the Arab traveller does not know that Zâbaj, Sribuja and Rami are all in Sumatra) belong to him. . . The maritime kingdom of Kalah (Kra) also acknowledges his sway . . . His own island is as fertile as a land can possibly be and the population is very dense and continuous". Then he proceeds to describe a curious custom of the Maharajas. Every morning, we are told, the treasurer brought to the king an ingot of gold of the shape of a brick which in the king's presence he threw into a lake near the palace. During the life-time of the king no one would touch these golden bricks. When he would die his successor would have these ingots taken out. After being counted and weighed they would be distributed among the members of the royal family, the generals, the servants and the poor. The number of these golden bricks and their total weight were then written in the official records and the prestige of a king would depend on the amount of gold

* Prof. Krom—De Sumantraansche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis—1919.

† Relations des voyages et textes geographiques Arabs..... par Gabriel Ferrand, 1922.

he would leave behind. Then the Arab traveller proceeds to describe Khmer (the indigenous name of Cambodia):— "According to the annals of Zâbaj there was once upon a time a king of Khmer. Khmer is the country from which the aloe Khmer is exported. It is not an island and there is no kingdom which possesses a larger population than Khmer (Cambodia)....All fermented liquors and every kind of debauchery are forbidden there; in the cities and throughout the kingdom one would not be able to find a single person leading a dissolute life... Between Khmer and Zabaj the distance is from 10 to 20 days by sea according to the weather. It is narrated that there was once a king of Khmer who was young and rash. One day he was seated in his palace which holds a commanding position on the bank of a river resembling the Tigris (the distance between the palace and the sea being one day's journey) and he had his minister with him. He was discussing with his minister the magnificence of the kingdom of the Maharaja of Zabaj, the number of islands it comprised, etc., when the king said that he had a desire which he longed to satisfy. The minister, who was sincerely attached to him and who knew how rash the king was in his decisions, asked him about his desire. The king replied :— "I wish to see the head of the Maharaja of Zabaj before me on a plate." The minister understood that it was jealousy which had suggested the idea to his master and he replied :— 'I do not like to hear my sovereign express such a desire. ....The kingdom of Zabaj is a distant island and is not in our neighbourhood. It had never shown any intention of attacking Khmer... No one should hear about this desire (expressed by the king) and the king should never mention it to anybody'. The king became displeased with his minister and disregarding the advice of his loyal counseller he repeated his statement to the generals and other courtiers who were present there. The news flew from mouth to mouth till it spread everywhere, and it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja of Zabaj. He was an energetic sovereign, active and experienced. He called his minister, told him what he had heard and then added that he must take some steps in this matter after what the foolish king of Khmer had said in public. Then telling the minister to keep the matter secret, he bade him prepare a thousand ships and to man them with as many troops as possible. It was given out to the public that the Maharaja intended. to make a tour through the islands included in his kingdom .... The king of Khmer did not suspect anything till the Maharaja had reached the river leading to the capital and had landed his troops. The capital was taken by surprise and the king of Khmer was captured. The

people fled before the foreign conquerors. But the Maharaja had it proclaimed by public criers that nobody would be molested. Then he seated himself on the throne of Khmer and ordered the king of Khmer and his minister to be summoned before him. The Maharaja asked the king of Khmer what had made him express such a desire. The king did not reply. Then the Maharaja said: "You wished to see my head on a plate. If you had similarly desired to seize my kingdom or to ravage it, I would have done the same to your country. But as you only intended to see my head cut off, I would confine myself to subjecting you to the same treatment and then I would return to my country without touching anything else in the kingdom of Khmer.... This would be a lesson to your successors so that no one would be tempted to undertake a task beyond his powers." So he had the king beheaded. Then he addressed the minister: "I know well the good advice you gave your master. What a pity that he did not heed it! Now seek somebody who can be a good king after this mad man and put him on the throne." Then the Maharaja returned to his own country without taking or allowing any one else to take anything from Khmer. When he reached the capital he sat down on the throne which faces the lake into which the golden bricks are thrown and had the head of the king of Khmer placed before him on a plate. Then he summoned the high functionaries of his state and told them why he had undertaken this expedition.... Then he had the head embalmed and sent it in a vase to the new king of Khmer along with a letter to the effect that the Maharaja had only been forced to act like that on account of the feelings of hatred which the late king of Khmer had expressed towards him and that this chastisement should serve as a lesson to any one who would imitate the deceased prince. When this news reached the ears of the kings of India and China, the Maharaja of Zabaj rose in esteem in their eyes."

That this is not merely an Arabian Nights, tale is proved by the fact that the important Cambodian inscription of Sdok Kak Thom* mentions that on coming back from Java (early in the 9th century) Jayavarman II (one of the greatest of the Cambodian monarchs) built three capitals in succession. All these capitals were embellished with images of Avalokiteshvara. Apparently Jayavarman II had caught the spirit of the great building activity which the Mahayanist Kings of Shrivijaya were at this time showing in Central Java. Another passage in this Sdok Kak Thom

* Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie—p. 87-88—Bulletin de l'École française d Extrême Orient, Tome XV 1915.

inscription suggests some close relation between the religion followed at first by Jayavarman II of Cambodia and that of Java or Shrivijaya (which held Central Java under its sway at that time.) In this passage Jayavarman asks the Brahman Hira*n*yadama, who came from Janapada, to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-desha might no longer be dependent on Java. It seems that Jayavarman II, at first a fervent Mahayanist (like the Shrivijaya kings of Sumatra and Java), adopted a Tantric form of Shaivism (for we hear of Hira*n*yadama teaching Tantric texts) to cut off all connection with Shrivijaya.

The Shailendra monarchs of Shrivijaya were zealous patrons of Mahayana Buddhism. Prof. Krom in his recent great work on Indo-Javanese history, mentions that in Sumatra itself gold plates have been discovered with mystic syllables and symbols. The Nagari characters leave no doubt that these plates should be ascribed to the Shrivijaya rulers. Prof. Kern states that Dharmapala, the famous *guru* of Nalanda, passed his last year in Sumatra. As this island-kingdom was in close touch with Magadha and Bengal, it must have derived its Mahayana Buddhism from these regions. Under the Pala Kings the Mahayana doctrines flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India. And it was a Mahayana tinged with Tantra-yana. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhist and Tantric doctrines in Sumatra, Java and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahayana inscriptions of the Shrivijaya Kings in Java are also written, not in the South Indian Grantha characters (as is the case with the earlier Javanese epigraphy), but in a North Indian script almost exactly like that of 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nalanda. Indications from other sources, which need not be specified here in detail, point also to the same conclusion that if the early Shaiva cult in the Archipelago and Indo-China originated from South India, the later wave of Mahayana Buddhism should be traced to the influence of Magadha and Bengal.

Central Java seems to have been recovered from Shrivijaya domination about 863 A. D. by the Hindu-Javanese princes from East Java. In his new book, Hindoe-Javansche Geschiedenis, Prof. Krom raises the interesting question as to why the Sumatran king in the Nalanda inscription refers to his grand-father as the ruler of Java which was only a dependency and which had been lost in 890 A. D. (the date of the Nalanda inscription). This ancestor then was probably not the ruler of Shrivijaya and Java, and Java and Shrivijaya may have been separate though allied states under members of the Shailendra dynasty.

Antagonism between Sumatra and Javanese rulers (who had

shifted their headquarters to the eastern portion of the islands) continued, however, well on into the 11th century. Indeed, Prof. Krom is of opinion that the restoration of Java really took place only after Shrivijaya had to yield to an invasion from South India by a Chola King (circa 1031 A. D.). After recovering her independence, Java, which had learnt a lesson, took care not to attack Palembang (Shrivijaya). The East Javanese monarchs turned their attention eastwards to Bali, etc. Meanwhile the great power of the West (Shrivijaya) continued to flourish. Towards the end of the 12th century Java and Sanfotsi (Shrivijaya) are mentioned by Chinese authors as two most important commercial countries. The two great monarchies stand side by side, independent of each other, and of equal power—the one (Shrivijaya) ruling the western and the other (Java) the eastern part of the Archipelago.*

Chau Ju-Kua, a Chinese customs officer who wrote on Chinese and Arab trade in the 13th century,† devotes a chapter to Sanfotsi (Shrivijaya):—"Sanfotsi is situated between Cambodia and Java. . . When the King goes out, he sits in a boat and is sheltered by a silk umbrella and guarded by men bearing gold lances. The people live scattered about outside the city or on the water on rafts, and these (latter) are exempt from taxation. The people are skilled at fighting on land and water. . .In time of war they appoint the chiefs and commanders ; each furnishes his own military equipment and the necessary provisions. For terrifying the enemy and defying death they have no equals. They use chopped-off lumps of silver in their business transactions. . .In writing official documents they use foreign characters (the Chinese chronicle of the Sung dynasty quotes this paragraph but substitutes 'Sanskrit' for 'foreign characters'). The laws of this country are very severe. Persons guilty of adultery are condemned to death. When the king dies, the people observe mourning and shave their heads, while his personal followers choose voluntary death by leaping into the blazing pyre. This act is called 'living and dying together.' There is in Sanfotsi a golden image of Buddha called the 'Hill of Gold.' Every new king, before ascending the throne, has a statue made of gold representing his person. The people offer vases of gold to these statues. These statues and vases bear inscriptions forbidding future generations to melt them. When a person is seriously ill, he distributes among the poor a sum equivalent to his weight in silver. . . .The king has the tittle of 'Long-tsing.' (M. Pelliot believes that 'Long-tsing signifies 'the seed of the dragon or the Naga'. This is

* N. J. Krom—De Sumatransche Periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis.

† Translation by Friedrich Hirth and W. Rockhill, 1912.

important, as it would ascribe a Naga origin to the Shailendra rulers of Sumatra. In Cambodia also, a Nagi is the ancestress of the royal dynasty. M. Cœdès thinks that these Naga traditions are of Pallava South Indian origin). The king may not eat grain but is fed on sago. Should he do otherwise, the year would be a dry one and grain dear. He bathes in rose-water—should he use ordinary water, there would be a great flood. . Besides the natural products of the country which include tortoise-shell, camphor, different varieties of aloe, cloves, sandal and cardamons, one can find here foreign products such as pearls, incense, rose-water, gardenia flowers civet, myrrh, assa-fœtida, ivory, coral, cotton cloth, sword-blades, etc. Arabs and others who have settled in the country, and foreign merchants come to sell (their goods) exchanging them for gold, silver, silk stuffs, sugar, rice, camphor, etc. This country, controlling the straits through which the foreigners' traffic must pass, keeps the pirates of other countries in check by using an iron chain as a barrier which can be raised or lowered at will by an ingenious device... If a merchant ship passes by without halting (at the port of Sanfotsi), the boats of this country attack that vessel. Therefore this country is a great shipping centre."

Fifteen States are mentioned by Chau Ju-Kua as dependencies of Sanfotsi (Shrivijaya), among which are Pahang, Kedah, Kelantan and some other localities in the Malaya Peninsula, and Sunda or Western Java, and, curiously, the last name in this list of dependencies is Ceylon. Three hundred years before this Chinese work was written the Arab Masudi wrote in his 'Prairies of Gold' about the Maharaja who was the king of the island of Zabaj (Shrivijaya), of Kalah (Kra), of Sirandip (Ceylon), etc. *

When the list of Chau Ju-Kua was being prepared (1225 A. D.), Java had just come under the Singasari dynasty which was going to make a breach in this balance of power maintained between the two powerful island kingdoms. In 1270 a Javanese expedition conquered Jambi in Sumatra and left some traces of Javanese supremacy in the heart of the island. A counter-attack by Shrivijaya followed. But the Majapahit heirs of the Singasaris undertook systematically the conquest of the Archipelago. In 1377 Palembang (Shrivijaya) also fell—this time for good and all. A hundred years later the Majapahit power of Java also waned away. A period of seven centuries was thus closed which began with Palembang (Shrivijaya) as the dominant power, which was then followed by a balance of power between Java and Sumatra, and which ended in complete Javanese supremacy.

* L'Empire sumatranais de Srivijaya par G. Ferrand., p. 14, note (6).

This subjection of Palembang (Shrivijaya) by Majapahit was a sad end of Shrivijaya's greatness. The Javanese deliberately neglected the country in order to destroy a rival. They did not come in sufficient numbers themselves to settle in Sumatra, and the local authority was put in the hands of the Chinese settlers. Palembang being an important trade-centre attracted Chinese merchants who met here Arab merchants from the west. The heads of this Chinese colony made piracy their chief business. The country, inspite of its fertility, lay uncultivated, and really it was a time of general decay.

We should compare this sad picture of Palembang under Javanese supremacy with the condition of Central Java under Sumatran influence in the 8th and 9th centuries. The beautiful temple of Kalasan and many other noble shrines were constructed in Java towards the end of the 8th century by order of the Shailendra Kings of Shrivijaya. A short time later rose Borobudur—the most wonderful Buddhist stupa in the world. In the galleries of Borobudur, orthodox Mahayana legends (we have already seen that the rulers of Shrivijaya were fervent Mahayanists) are combined in a harmonious whole, having the evident object of giving the faithful, as they are ascending the monument, the impression that they are also ascending spiritually. The unadorned and plain character of the upper terraces is in striking contrast to the rich decoration so lavishly applied to the lower stories of the edifice.* The bas reliefs of Mahayanist Borobudur are based on the Lalita Vistara, though the artists have given a local touch to the reliefs, for the back-ground is not Indian but Javanese. According to Prof. Krom the stupa form of architecture was introduced into Java by Sumatran architects. For though Java is rich in antiquities, the stupa form is represented in Java only by Borobudur, whereas in Sumatra several stupas occur even in ancient monuments.

Finally Prof. Krom states that the strikingly harmonious character of the distribution of the decorative parts, the wonderful care shown by the artists as to the fitting in of the details to the whole, which we find in Borobodur, do not survive in later Javanese architecture. In Sumatra these characteristics survived longer. Therefore, Sumatran artists must have introduced these features in the Buddhist temples of this Sumatran period in Central Java. Thus the view of the absolute superiority of Java in political power, art, and culture will now have to be given up.

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* N. J. Krom—De Sumatransche Periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis. (The first and the last part of this paper are based mainly on this work).

JAVA AND SUMATRA IN INDIAN LITERATURE

The fourth Canto of the Ramayana contains considerable geographical details. Sita has been stolen away by Ravana. Sugriva, the monkey-king, who has become the ally of Rama, sends searching parties to the four cardinal points, and for each of them describes the itinerary to be followed. He begins with the eastern route. After describing the regions through which the Jumna, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra flow, he passes on to Indo-China. After the description of 'the isle with the wall of gold' (Suvarna-dvipa or Sumatra) we come to the well-known passage : "With all your efforts reach Yava-dvipa (the island of Java), adorned with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold ; then beyond the isle of Yava is the mountain Shishira whose peak touches the sky and which is the abode of gods and demons."

Is this passage a later interpolation ? Prof. Sylvain Lévi in his "Pour l'Histoire du Ramayana" (1918) gives reasons for ascribing an early date to it. The Buddhist Sanskrit work *Saddharma-smrityupasthana-sutra* (सद्धर्मस्मृत्युपस्थानसूत्र) contains a passage which gives a description of Jambudvipa. This passage follows closely the Digvarnana (दिग्वर्णना) in the Ramayana. Countries, rivers, seas, etc. are mentioned in the same order. But Java is not mentioned here, though the isle with the wall of gold is to be found here too. Now this work was translated into Chinese in 539 A. D. by a Brahman coming from Benares. According to Sharat Chandra Das, Ashvaghosha wrote a commentary on this sutra. This would take us to the period of Kanishka *i.e.* the end of the first century A.D., or the beginning of the second century.

Ptolemy refers to Java as Iabadioou' (Yava-dvipa). We do not know the exact date of the geography of Ptolemy. He was an astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography mainly with the object of drawing a map of the world with latitudes and longitudes, and incidentally he has briefly described the countries referred to in his work. He himself admits that he relies on descriptions given by travellers such as Marin of Tyre. His work can be assigned approximately to the middle of the second century A.D.

Ptolemy thus describes Java : "Iabadiou, which means 'the isle of barley' (so Ptolemy knew the meaning of the Sanskrit name Yava-dvipa of the island), is said to be of extraordinary fertility, and produces plenty of gold. The capital is Argyra (the city of silver) situated at its western

extremity." Between India and Java Ptolemy places a series of islands inhabited by cannibals (the Purushadaka of the Ramayana).

Oderic de Pordenone (in 1316) follows the Ramayana more closely than Ptolemy in his description of Java. "Near Sumatra there is a large island. The king of this island has seven kingdoms under him." Oderic then mentions the walls of the king's palace as being of gold. Is this a reminiscence (as Prof. Lévi suggests) of 'the isle with the wall of gold'?

In the Études Asiatiques published in 1925, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the École Française de l'Extrême Orient, Prof. Lévi has contributed an article 'Ptolemée, le Niddesa et la Brhatkatha.' From the Niddesa, a commentary on the Pali Buddhist Canon, Prof. Lévi cites a passage in which different kinds of torments are enumerated: "Again, under the sway of passions which dominate the soul, in quest of enjoyments, he embarks on the great sea which is sometimes icy cold, sometimes burning hot, troubled with mosquitoes etc., suffering from hunger and thirst; he goes to Gumba, Takkola, Takkasila, Kalamukha, Maranapara, Vesunga, Verapatha, Yava, Tamali, Vanga, Elavaddhana, Suvannakuta, Suvannabhumi, Tambapanni, Suppara, Bharukaccha, Surattha, Anganeka, Gangana, Paramagangana, Yona, Paramayona, Alasanda, Marukantara, Jannupatha, Ajapatha, Mendhapatha, Sankupatha, Chattapatha, Vamsapatha, Sakunapatha, Musikapatha, Daripatha, Vettachara; and thus again he is tormented, very much tormented." The same series of places reappears in an identical form in another passage of the same work. By comparing it with similar lists in the Milinda Panho and in the Sloka-Samgraha (which is based on the much older Brhatkatha), Prof. Lévi comes to the conclusion that it is a stereotyped series giving the names of places a navigator might visit while sailing along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, *i.e.* sea-side localities in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and Sumatra, and then making for India *via* Ceylon (Tambapanni). We come then to the ports on the western coast of India:— Suppara (Sopara), Bharukaccha (Broach), Surattha (Surat) and after some stages difficult to identify, we pass on to the Greek country (Yona), to Greater Greece (Parama Yona), to Alexandria (Alasanda). Takkola (the second name in the list) was situated on the western coast of the isthmus of Kra. Takkasila, which comes just after Takkola, is not Taxila, but the 'Tokosonna' (near Kra) in Ptolemy's map of Transgangetic India. Vanga, which is mentioned soon after Java, is not Bengal, but the island of Banka between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Suvannabhumi corresponds to the Chryse of the Greek and Roman writers. It is a comprehensive

term for the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal. This region was the El Dorado of Indian adventurers. Suvannakuta is probably identical with the Suvarna-kudyaka in Kautilya's 'Artha-Shastra.' In the chapter where Kautilya deals with valuable objects Suvarna-kudyaka is described as a country of rare and precious products such as white sandal (the best variety of which is to be found in the Archipelago), *dukula*, etc. Probably it is to be located somewhere in Sumatra. The list of 'pathas' or paths is to be found also in the Sloka-Samgraha (which must have taken it from the Brhatkatha). Thus the Aja-patha means 'the path of goats' (where goats onlp can be used for carrying merchandise), Mendha-patha—'the path of rams', Sanku-patha—'the path of spikes' (the steep assents being climbed with the help of spikes), Chatta-patha—'the path of umbrellas' (where big umbrellas were to be used as parachutes for getting down), and so on

In the Supriyavadana, Prof. Lévi points out how before Supriya reaches the land of gold, he has to scale mountains by driving iron spikes into the rock and sometimes he has to use a ladder of canes (the Vettachara of our list) *

So these extraordinary 'pathas' were familiar to the adventurers who went to Suvarnabhumi in quest of gold.

To sum up : Prof. Lévi is of opinion that the passage referred to in the Niddesa (which cannot be later than the 3rd century A.D.), corresponds closely with Ptolemy's map as regards this series of places which were all on the sea-route from the Burmese coast, *via* Java, Ceylon and the western cost of India, to Alexandria Probably Suppara (Surparaka or Sopara) in the neighbourhood of Bombay was the great emporium from which the merchant vessels sailed both east and west along this route.

Another mention of Java has been found by Prof. Sylvain Lévi in the 'Sutra of the Twelve Stages of Buddhahood,' translated into Chinese in 392 A.D. by the monk Kalodaka: —"In the ocean there are 2500 kingdoms of which 180 subsist on cereals and the rest on fish and turtles. The kingdom of the ruler of the first island is Sseu-li, this kingdom serves only the Buddha; ..... the fourth (island) is Cho-ye: it produces the long pepper (pipa) as well as ordinary pepper." Sseu-li, Prof. Levi is sure, is Ceylon, devotion to Buddha being one of the traditions of the island. Cho-ye, he thinks, is Jaya, which is meant for Java. The 'pipa' is 'pippali' in Sanskrit. The Chou fan che (a Chinese work of

* The episode of the 'Sakunapatha' or 'the path of birds' in the Brhatkatha may be the source from which the story of Sindbad and his adventure with the *roc* birds may have been derived. Some at least of the adventures of Sindbad the sailor have probably their basis in ancient Indian travellers' tales.

the 13th century) mentions pepper as one of the chief products of Java.

In 423 A.D. Buddhism was preached in Java by the famous Gu*n*avarman. He was a Kshatriya prince belonging to the royal family of Kashmir.* When only 14 he convinced his mother that hunting wild animals was improper. When he was 30 years of age, the King of Kashmir died without issue and the ministers, knowing him to be the ablest member of the royal family, begged him to come out of his secluded religious life and accept the throne. To avoid their importunities Gu*n*avarman left Kashmir. He reached Ceylon and was acknowledged there as one who had attained the highest stage of spiritual life. Then he went to Java. The night before his arrival the mother of the king of Java dreamt that a holy man, mounted on a flying cloud, was coming to her country. When Gu*n*avarman arrived the next morning, the king's mother was converted by him to Buddhism. At her bidding, her son, the king of Java, also accepted the tenets of Buddhism. Shortly afterwards the kingdom was invaded by the army of a neighbouring prince. Gu*n*avarman, on being asked by the king whether he should resist the enemy by force of arms, replied that it was the king's duty to defend his realm, but at the same time he should not harbour in his mind any cruel thoughts. The enemy fled in disorder without any fighting. A monastery was erected by the king in honour of Gu*n*avarman who, however, in his ardent desire to propagate the true faith, left for China soon afterwards in a ship belonging to a Hindu merchant of the name of Nandi.

Towards the end of the 5th century A. D., Aryabhatta, the astronomer of Ujjain, wrote:—"When the sun aises in Ceylon, it is midday in Yavakoti and midnight in the land of the Romans."

In the Surya-Siddhanta (an astronomical work which can be dated back to the 5th century A.D., though the work in its present from dates from the 11th century), we find the passage:—"At quarter of the circumference of the earth, eastwards in the land of Bhadrashva (the Eastern Division of the earth), is the famous *nagari* Yavakoti with golden walls and gates."

I-tsing, who stayed in Shrivijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) for seven years (688-695), states that the king of Shrivijaya possessed ships sailing between India and his own kingdom. It was in a ship belonging to this king that the Chinese pilgrim left Sumatra for Tamralipti in India. He also describes Shrivijaya as a great centre of Sanskrit

* Gu*n*avarman—translated from the Chinese into French by Edouard Chavannes. *T'oung-pao*, 1904.

learning. I-tsing mentions many other Chinese monks as halting in this kingdom to learn Sanskrit before visiting India.*

From the Manjushrimulakalpa (written about the 8th century), Prof. Sylvain Lévi cites a passage† in which the islands of Karmaranga (near Ligor from which we have got the fruit Kamranga), the isle of cocoanuts, Varusaka (Baros in Sumatra), and the isles of the Nude (Nicobar), Bali and Java are mentioned as places where the language is indistinct, rude and too full of the letter 'r.'

Apart from Sanskrit works, Tamil texts also mention Java. The Tamil poem Manimegalai mentions a town Nagapuram in Savaka-nadu which is the Tamil name for Yavadwipa. Two kings of Nagapuram are mentioned—Bhumichandra and Punyaraja who claimed descent from Indra.

The name of Shrivijaya (in Sumatra) occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Chola dynasty of South India. In the reign of Râjarâja I. (985-1012 A. D.), a Sanskrit inscription commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple of Nâgapattana commenced by Chu*d*amanivarman and finished by his son Mâravijayottungavarman—the last being described as King of Ka*t*aha (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) and Shrivijaya. To the north of Negapatam about 50 years ago were found traces of a Buddhist temple which might well be that built by order of the Sumatran king.§

Again in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I. (1012-1042 A. D.), we have the following account of the Chola King's naval successes :—"Having sent numerous ships into the midst of the moving ocean and having seized Sangramavijayottungavarman, King of Kadaram, together with his elephants —he took also the treasures which that king had accumulated ... the prosperous Shrivijaya... the ancient Malayur (Jambi in Sumatra) with a fort situated on a high hill. . ."

The conquest by the Chola King must have been a very temporary one. In 1068 another Chola King Virarajendra I says that after having conquered Kadaram (one of the feudatory states under Shrivijaya), he had to restore it to the vanquished King, "as it was too far off beyond the moving sea." A few years later it is Shrivijaya which claims suzerainty over the Cholas. At least its ambassadors say so at the Chinese Court.

Coming to North Indian epigraphy we find Sumatra and Java mentioned in the 9th century copper-plate of Devapala

* Voyages des pelerins Buddhistes, E. Chavannes.
† Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans L'Inde, 1923, Prof. S. Lévi.
§ Krom—Hindœ-Javaansche Geschiedenis, p. 231

of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. This inscription, which was discovered at Nalanda in 1921, states that Devapala being requested by the illustrious Maharaja Bâlaputradeva, King of Suvar*n*advipa (Sumatra), granted five villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the King of Suvar*n*advipa. The mother of Maharaja Bâlaputradeva, the inscription tells us, was Târâ, the daughter of a King Dharmasetu of the lunar race and the queen of the mighty King who was the son of the renowned ruler of "Yavabhumi"—the ornament of the Shailendra dynasty. "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda and through devotion to the son of Shuddhodana—he (the King of Suvar*n*advipa) built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty buildings. . ."

The Tibetan work of Kalyâ*n*a Mitra, Phyag-sorpa (written about the middle of the 13th century) mentions the visit to Suvar*n*advipa of the great Bengali monk Dipankara (Atisha—980-1053 A. D.), who established Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet. The following extract is from the life of Atisha in the "*Indian Pandits in Tibet*" by Sarat Chandra Dass:—"There is a country filled with precious minerals and stones called Suvar*n*advipa in the neighbourhood of Jambudvipa. Lama Gser glin-pa was born in the royal family of that country. With a view to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma, he obtained leave from his father to go to Jambudvipa (India) for a pilgrimage to Vajrâsana (the Bodh Gaya temple). The great Acharya Maha Shri Ratna was at Vajrâsana and the prince became attached to him. But the Acharya consented to instruct him in Dharma only when the prince vowed to give up imperial power and become a hermit. The Acharya gave him the name of Dharma-kîrti of Suvar*n*advipa. Then returning to Suvar*n*advipa he converted all who had been devoted to the Tirthika religion to Buddhism. Though he resided in Suvar*n*advipa his name became known everywhere abroad."

"In the company of some merchants Dipankara (Atisha) embarked for Suvar*n*advipa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvar*n*advipa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East and its High Priest Dharmakirti was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. Dipankara (Atisha) resided there for a period of 12 years in order to master completely the pure teachings of Buddha of which the key was possessed by Dharmakirti alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel visiting Tamradvipa (Ceylon) and the island of forests on his way."

In a Nepalese manuscript with miniatures* dating from about the 11th century, the first miniature has the explanatory note, "Dipankara in Yavadvipa" Yavadvipa often meant Sumatra as well as Java. Another miniature in this manuscript bears the title of "Lokanatha at Shrivijayapura in Suvar*n*apura." So Shrivijaya in Sumatra was known to the Nepalese artist of the 11th century.

In the Kathâsaritsâgara of Somadeva, which, though belonging to the 12th century, is based on the much older B*r*hatkatha by Gu*n*âdhya, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvar*n*advipa and other islands of the name of Narikela, Karpura and Ka*t*aha (Kedah).

In Tantra literature also we find some references. There were three regions each with its special group of Tantras. The Ashvakrântâ group (of Tantras) is allocated (by the Mahâsiddhisâra Tantra) to the region extending from the Karatoyâ river (in the Dinâjpur District of Bengal) to Java.

In the Râs Mâlâ, the Hindu annals of Gujerat, there is mentioned a common saying of that part of the country :— "He who leaves for Java never comes back. If he comes back by chance, he brings silver enough for two generations."

Such is the literary evidence we possess of the intercourse between India and the islands of the Malay Archipelago for about a thousand years.

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*. Fouchér—Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde pp. 79, 189 and 193.

THE RAMAYANA IN JAVA

There exist several recensions—early, mediaeval and comparatively recent—of the Ramaya*n*a in Java both in verse and in prose. Episodes of the Ramaya*n*a survive to this day in the Javanese shadow plays (the Wayang) and stories which are still very popular with the people. The Rama literature in the Archipelago displays however such marked divergences from the epic of Valmiki that until lately it was assumed that the Javanese had taken great liberties with the Ramaya*n*a. But scholars are beginning to think that the Javanese may have got their traditions of Rama from other Indian versions of the hero's exploits besides Valmiki's poem."*

European scholars believe that the main distinction between the older and the later versions of Rama's career is that in the former Rama is the great hero, whereas in the latter he is an incarnation of Vis*n*u. In the third and latest stage, through which the Rama tradition has passed, Rama becomes the Supreme Divinity who has become man for his love of Humanity. When the Hindus reached Java the Rama tradition had not yet reached the third stage.

The Rama tradition has followed in the wake of Indian colonising activities and has spread all over south-eastern Asia. The deeds of the Indian hero are still represented in the puppet shows of Burma. In Siam the king is an incarnation of Rama. The last king was Rama VI. Rama's capital is localised as the old capital Ayuthia (Ayodhya) of Siam. Lopburi (Lavapuri) is one of the most ancient towns in Siam. The oldest Siamese inscription is that of Rama Kamheng who founded the Siamese kingdom on the ruins of the Khmer empire. The writer has seen representations of scenes from the Ramaya*n*a worked in silver on the gates of the principal Buddhisttemple (Vat Chetu Pon) of Bangkok.

In a 6th century inscription of Cambodia we find the following passage :—"With the Ramaya*n*a and the Pura*n*a he (the Brahman Somasharman) gave the complete Mahabharata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption... Whoever participates in this reading - may a portion of the fruit of this great and virtuous act go to his credit. . . . ."†

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* W. Stutterheim,—Rama Legenden und Rama Reliefs in Indonesien. This paper is mainly based on Stutterheim's scholarly work.

† Inscription of Veal Kantel—Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champà et du Cambodge, p. 30.

The princes of Kambuja (Cambodia as distinguished from the older Kingdom of Funan) traced their descent from the solar dynasty.

In an inscription* of Yashovarman (889-909 A. D.), the construction of the new capital Yashodharapura (Angkor Thom) is thus referred to in words having a double meaning :—"He who defended Kambupuri (the capital of Kambuja), impregnable (Ayodhyâ), of terrifying aspect (Vibhi*sana*), with the aid of good counsellors (with Sumantra as his friend) and with prosperity (Sitâ) as its ornament, like the descendant of Raghu."

The 'Hema-shringa-giri', at present known as Ba Puon, was constructed by Jayavarman V. of Kambuja (968-1001 A. D.) and is one of the finest pyramidal temples of Cambodia. Among the Rama reliefs, found on the walls of the highest gallery, may be mentioned the interview between Rama and Lakshma*n*a with Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva and Bali, Sita in the grove of Ashoka trees handing the jewel to Hanuman, battle secnes in which Hanuman plays the chief part, the ten-headed Rava*n*a in a chariot drawn by lions facing Rama who is carried by Hanuman, the ordeal of Sita, and Rama and Sita enthroned.

Angkor Vat, the most famous Vaishnava temple of Cambodia, was built in the first half of the 12th century. Among the innumerable bas reliefs, which adorn its galleries are several scenes from the Ramaya*n*a such as Rama pursuing Maricha, the death of Kabandha, the alliance of Rama with Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva and Bali, Hanuman finding Sita in Lanka, the Lanka battle-field, etc, ending with the return of Rama and Sita in the aerial chariot Puspaka.

The old chronicles of the Annamites describe the people of Champa (South Annam), who were their mortal enemies as descendants of monkeys and cite the following tradition to corroborate this †:—"In ancient times, beyond the frontiers of Annam, there was a kingdom the king of which was known as the king of demons or as Dashanana. To the north of this realm was the country of Ho Ton Tinh where reigned the king Dasharatha. The son of this king, of the name of Chu'ng-Tu, had a wife—the princess Bach-Tinh. She was a peerless beauty. The king of the demons became enamoured of her, invaded the kingdom of Ho Ton Tinh, seized the princess and carried her away. The prince Ch'ung-Tu, whose anger was roused, put himself at the head

* Op. cit., stanza 21, p. 505.
† G. Maspero—Le Royaume de Champa, p. 63.

of an army of monkeys. The monkeys made a passage for themselves by bridging the sea with mountains which they tore off (from their positions). The kingdom of Dieungbiem was conquered and the king of demons slain. The princess Bach-Tinh was taken back to her country. The people of Ho Ton Tinh were of the monkey race and the Chams (the people of Champa) are their descendants."

M. Hubert, commenting on this passage cited, says :— "The Annamite writer supposes that the events (of the Ramayana) took place in Champa and this is a reason for believing that the story need not be traced back to the Dasharatha Jataka in the Chinese Buddhist canon; it is probably the distant echo of that which was once the national epic of Champa and which is now lost."* So he thinks that there was a Ramayana in the Cham language.

Hanuman is mentioned in Tibetan books. The Tibetans suppose themselves to be descended from monkeys and they say that they had tails for a long time.

The story of Rama has penetrated into China with the Lankavatara sutra and the Dasharatha Jataka incorporated in the Buddhist scriptures,

To come back to Java—it was in 1889 that the monkey scenes in the Prambanan temple (in Central Java) bas-reliefs led to the identification of these representations with epsiodes of the Ramayana. Dr. Vogel, who was busy with these reliefs in 1921, came to the conclusion that a traditional story might have been the source of those representations rather than any definite text. Prof. Krom says that these reliefs have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The small deviations from the Sanskrit epic led Dr. Stutterheim to look for some other text which had yet to be discovered. Often these deviations have been explained as deformations of the text, but Dr. Stutterheim is no believer in this theory.

These divergences in the Prambanan reliefs, however, are mostly in trifling details. The question now arises whether there had appeared in India similar divergences by the end of the 9th century—the period to which the Prambanan group of temples is assigned. The account of Rama's career in the Mahabharata differs in some respects from the version of the Ramayana. The Mahabharata account does not concern itself with what happened after the return of Rama from Ceylon. There is also some difference in Ravana's genealogy in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata versions. Again, in the Mahabharata there is nothing of Rama's journey to Mithila, breaking Hara's bow and Sita's Svayamvara. Dr. Stutterheim does not agree with Prof.

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* Hubert—Le Legende du Rayamana en Annam, Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Tome, V.

Jacobi that the account in the Mahabharata is a hasty copy of Valmiki's epic. He thinks that it is independent of the Ramayana and probably should be traced to some oral tradition. From other versions of Rama's life (*e. g.* Bhavabhuti's Mahaviracharita, some of the Puranas, etc.) sufficient divergences can be shown even in the classical period of Sanskrit literature.

In the old Javanese Ramayana *Kakavin*, the divergences are neither numerous nor important. Moreover, the Kakavin is not complete. There is no definite information as to the date of this work. We can only judge from the language. Prof. Kern would ascribe it to the Kediri period which was the golden age of Kavi literature. The author probably did not know Sanskrit. It has a Vaisnava character and the Kediri dynasty was also Vaisnava. It was probably written about the same time as the Bharat Yuddha—*i. e.* about 1100 A. D. In the Serat Rama by Jasadhipura, a work much appreciated in Javanese literary circles, the early history of Ravana is found which is not given in the Kakavin. Here too, there are not many divergences and the book is free from the distortions introduced later on, as we shall see, in the later Javanese works on this subject and in the Malay Ramayana. The Javanese Uttarakanda (the 7th canto of the Ramayana does not exist in the Kakavin), is a prose paraphrase of the Sanskrit Uttarakanda. This *first group* (consisting of the Kakavin, the Serat Rama and the Uttarakanda), without following Valmiki *verbatim* give on the whole the orthodox Indian version.

The *second group* is represented by the Rama Kling the Serat Kandas and other less known works such as the Ramayana Sasak, Rama Nitis, etc. This group closely approaches the Malay version of the Ramayana. The Malay Hikayat Seri Rama* is probably based on this second group of Javanese texts, In popular dramas still staged for the entertainment of the people, it is this second group and not the first which serves as the basis. These pieces for the theatre have been worked up on episodes of the Javanese Ramayana such as the birth of Dashamukha (Ravana), Dashamukha's abduction of a Vidyadhari (Indrajit is represented as the son of this Vidyadhari), Rama's marriage, etc. The old Javanese Ramayanas (the Kakavin, etc.) are sometimes quoted in these dramatical representations, but nobody understands them. The influence of the first group has been superficial on the growth of the Rama tradition in Java.

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* Translated in No. 70 of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1917.

The Serat Kandas begins with Adam in Mecca with his sons Abil and Kabil and Satan. We get then a curious association of Noah and Uma (उमा). We come next to the account of the births of Visnu and Vasuki and Muslim figures then disappear. The genealogy of early Javanese kings is worked into the story. The Ramayana begins with Canto 22 and only in Canto 46 is the birth of Rama given. In the Cantos 23 to 45 the ancestors of Rama and Ravana are discussed—some of whom are ancestors of Javanese princes.

In this work Rama is called *Bhargava*, Laksmana *Murdhaka* and Sita *Sinta*; Janaka is *Kala* and Jatayu *Jintaya*, Hanuman (*Anuman*), who is the son of Rama and Sita when both of them were temporarily metamorphosed into apes, loses his tail which he recovers in the sea of sand.

Just at the point when the invasion of Lanka is going to begin, the author digresses into the story of the Pandavas. In Canto 70 the story of Rama is again taken up. Then the sequel after Ravana's death is related. Ravana is buried under a mountain. Then follows the episode of the fan (with Ravana's picture on it) which Sita unwittingly handles. This leads to estrangement between Rama and Sita. The couple are however reconciled at the hermitage of Kala (Janaka). Towards the end we have the marriage of the daughter of Indrajit with But-Lava (Lava). Dinjayapura is mentioned as the capital of Lava. Finally Sita consents to be cremated with Rama on condition that in the next life she would be his sister.

The difference between the conclusion of the Serat Kandas and Valmiki's Uttarakanda is so great that the former must be ascribed to a different source altogether. Dr. Stutterheim believes that other versions besides that of Valmiki may have been the basis for these Javanese divergences. The fame of Valmiki has made us forget that there were also other (formerly well-known) accounts of the life of Rama.

In the Serat Kandas there is firstly a combination of Muhammadan tales and of the deeds of Rama. In the third canto, Shiva is mentioned as a descendant of Adam. In the Malay version, as we shall see, the Muslim element is more conspicuous. Secondly, in the Serat Kandas, the story of Rama forms an organic whole with early legends of Javanese dynasties. These Javanese texts of the second group may be taken as Javanese Puranas working up local legends with the orthodox Indian traditions.

As regards the Malay Ramayana, Dr. Brandes believes that a great part of it consists of old native legends which have nothing to do with the story of Rama. The best known manuscript of this work was written late in the 16th

century. It came into the possession of Archbishop Laud and was passed on to the Bodleian (Oxford) Library in 1633.* It is evidently based on the Javanese Rama legends of the second group. Ravana is banished by his father, put on board a ship and finds himself at last in Serandip (Ceylon). He leads the rigorous life of an ascetic for twelve years at the end of which period Adam appears before him. Ravana requests Adam to intercede for him. Such is the beginning and then we go through what seems to us a strangely distorted account of the familiar story of Rama.

The question arises how far these differences are local in origin or whether they can be traced to different versions of the Rama tradition in India itself. In the Malay version Dasaratha's first wife is found in a bamboo thicket and according to the Serat Kandas the second wife is also found in a bamboo grove. But in Indian folk-lore also there are some instances like this and it may not be Indonesian in origin. The part which Baliâ Dari (Kaikeyi) plays is different from that which she plays in the Ramayana. She held up with her hand Dasaratha's litter when it is breaking. In the Adhyâtma Ramayana there is also a mention of the breaking of the litter in addition to Kaikeyi's healing the wounds of Dasharatha. In the Malay version Rama, when quite young, teases a hunch-backed woman (Mantharâ). In Ksemendra's Ramayana Katha Sarita Manjari, Rama's rough treatment of Mantharâ led to her action against him.

Again in the Malay version and in the Serat Kandas Sita is apparently Ravana's daughter by Mandodari (really in both of these works she is the daughter of Dasharatha and Mandodari). As soon as she is born, she is put in a box and thrown into the sea. Janaka (Kala in Javanese) finds the box while performing his morning ablutions, takes out Sita and brings her up. In the Adbhuta Ramayana, Narada curses Lakshmi that she is to be born as a Râkshasi. In the Siamese version also Sita is the daughter of Ravana, In a Ceylonese tale Sita is born of the blood of ascetics collected by Ravana.† In the Uttarapurana of the Jainas, Sita is also the daughter of Ravana. Nearest to the Malay version is a folk-tale from Gujrat (Indian Antiquary, XXII, p. 315), in which a man's daughter is put in a box and floats down the sea to a fisherman's hut and later on the father comes to win her hand in marriage.

In the Malay version (the manuscript of Eysinga—not that of Laud) we find Laksmana leading an ascetic life

* See No. 70, Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1917.

† Indian Antiquary XLV. p. 84. This tale has been heard by the writer in the hills of the Kangra District.

(without sleeping or partaking of any food) for twelve years just as in the Bengali version of K*r*ittibâsa.

In the Malay version Lakshma*n*a draws a line (a charmed circle) round Sita's dwelling-place before he leaves to help Rama who is supposed to be in distress. K*r*ittibâsa also describes the same procedure in his popular poem.

The abduction of Rama into Pàtâla (पाताल) the underground world) occurs in the Malay version as well as in the Bengali and Gujrati popular Ramayanas. In a Punjab story Machandanath is the son of Hanuman hy a fish-queen whom the monkey-chief weds on his visit to Patala in quest of Rama. A son of Hanuman by a princess of the subterranean rigions is mentioned also in the Malay version.

Most of the divergences in the Javanese and Malay accounts of the Lanka Ka*n*da can probably be deduced from *Indian Sources.* In the Malay version Rava*n*a falls when Rama shoots of his small head (he had ten heads) behind his right ear. Then again Rava*n*a is immortal and cannot die. We find this also in popular Bengali accounts.

The episode of Sita and the fan with Ravana's picture, which we have already referred to the Serat Kandas, occurs in the Bengali tale of Chandravali where the same story is told of Kaikeyi's daughter Kukua (Dineshchandra Sen's Lectures on the Ramaya*n*a—p. 197 and sqq).

Kusha is in the Ceylonese as well as in the Malay version created out of Kusha grass by Valmiki when the real child is found to be missing. The account of the fighting which takes place between Rama and his sons (without their knowing each other) is to be found in Bengal as well as in the Malay Archipelago.

In what relation do these variations (most of which can be traced to India) stand to Valmiki's epic ? Some of these stories may be older than the epic itself and certainly they are cruder.* *e. g.* in some of the earlier versions Sita is Ravana's real daughter. In the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama and the Serat Kandas she is only apparently Rava*n*a's daughter. In Valmiki's epic there is no relationship between Rava*n*a and Sita. Sita's story has been adapted, according to Dr. Stutterheim, to the stage of civilisation of the period to which the story belongs. Therefore, he thinks that instead of accusing the Javanese of having tampered with the Rama tradition to suit their own outlook on life—the same charge may be levelled against Valmiki himself for having given us a refined version of earlier and cruder accounts.

At first it was supposed by some of the Dutch scholars that the Tamil Ramaya*n*a might be the basis of the Javanese and Malay versions. But the Tamil Ramaya*n*a of Kambar

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* Cp. D. C. Sen, *op. cit.*

follows Valmiki closely. The popular tales in the Indonesian (Javanese, Malay, etc.) versions approach closely some of those popular editions current in Gujrat, Punjab, and Bengal. A tradition still existing in Java ascribes * the colonisation of the island by emigrants from Gujrat. This was probably due to the fact that from the 13th century the Gujratis were in Java as merchants, *mullahs* and sailors. Epigraphical evidence does not support the tradition of any Gujrati influence in earlier times. Nor, as regards the divergences in the Indonesian Ramaya*n*as, can any monopoly be attributed to the influence of the Gujrati versions.

Dr. Stutterheim thus sums up this question. No single definite recension has yet been found in India from which the Indonesian (Javanese and Malay) versions could have been derived. There has been a very mixed influence—princially of *oral traditions* some of which have come down from very ancient times. Valmiki's work, according to Dr. Stutterheim, represents a later and more refined civilisation. The Javanese and Malay versions, having preserved some of the more primitive traditions, shoud be more interesting from the anthropological point of view than the literary and polished Ramaya*n*a of the orthodox school.

The Rama tradition is still a living force in the Java of to-day. "The Javanese have so completely assimilated the famous legends that even their foreign origin has been forgotten. For the great mass of the population, Rama and the Pa*n*davas are truly national heroes, born and bred in the Isle of Java ! The extreme favour which those Indian stories have found and retained until now among all classes of society, is not so much due to their having been sung in famous Old Javanese poems, as to that most popular of entertainments—the Wayang or shadow-show. Indians familiar with their Mahabharata and Ramaya*n*a would be surprised to see Arjuna, Krish*n*a and Rama appear here in the quaint garb of Wayang puppets, which, in their strangely fantastical, yet unmistakably artistic character, are the true children of Indonesian art. Stranger still are clowns who invariably accompany the hero, be it Arjuna or Rama, and who contribute not a little to the delight of the audience by their good-humoured, though not always delicate, jokes. These clowns or 'panakawans'—Semar, the father, and his two sons, Petruk and Nalagareng—are undoubtedly as Indonesian in origin as they are in name."*

The principal river of Central Java is still known as the Serayu (*i.e.* Sarayu on the bank of which was situated the capital of Rama).

* Dr. Vogel—The Relation between the Art of India and Java (The Influences of Indian Art, p. 40).

Next to the Borobudur the most striking ancient monument in Java is the Prambanan group of Hindu temples. The ruins of Prambanan are part of a still bigger group of dilapidated shrines known as Chandi (Javanese word for temple) Laura Jongrong. The princess Laura Jongrong is well-known in Javaneso folk-lore. It was to win her hand, so says the popular story, that the thousand temples of Chandi Sewu (in the vicinity of Prambanan) were built in a single night by a suitor according to a wager ; he was however frustrated in his purpose by an unusually early dawn. These Hindu shrines are situated in the plain dominated by the volcano Merapi. The archæological society of Jogyakarta (the nearest important town) commenced in 1885 the task of clearing up the tropical vegetation and the lava deposits under which the shrines had been buried for centuries. This work of restoration had an unexpected result. The Javanese, converted to Islam three centuries ago, thronged to visit the temple with offerings of incense and flowers. The French traveller Jules Leclercq, who saw (L'ile de Java, p. 147) even Hajis joining in the worship of the ancient Hindu images, remarks that the advent of the Muslim faith has not yet alienated the minds of the Javanese from their old beliefs.

The Laura Jongrong group of temples is surrounded on all sides by Buddhist shrines. There are eight main temples in this group and those dedicated to Shiva, Visnu and Brahma are in the middle. The general plan is grand in its simplicity. The eight large main shrines are built on a square terrace in the centre, round which are 160 small shrines arranged in three succesive squares. The small shrines are now in an advanced state of decay. The main temples have resisted better the ravages of time.

Inscriptions of the Buddhist Shailendra Kings cease to appear in Central Java after the middle of the 9th century. After 915 A.D. we do not hear any more of Central Javanese rulers (this region being abandoned at that time). So the Prambanan group must have been constructed in the second half of the 9th century by a prince of the name of Daksa. An inscription of Prambanan mentions this name.

On the inner side of the balustrade of the Shiva temple are the farmous Ravana reliefs. From the outside, one cannot see anything of these splendid representations. The reliefs in the Shiva temple stop abruptly with the scene of bridging the sea. Probably the story was continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahma temple, some scattered remnants of which have been discovered. There are Krishna reliefs on the parapet of the Visnu temple.

The first relief of the Ramayana series begins at the starting-point of the pradaksinâ round Shiva's shrine. Here

we have Garu*d*a with the blue lotus, Vi*sn*u reclining on the She*s*a Naga and drifting on the sea which is full of crabs and fishes, and to the right a group of seated figures headed by an ascetic who offers something to Vi*sn*u. Dr. Vogel says about this first relief: "It is interesting that this opening scene of the Rama story differs from the version both of the Sanskrit and the Old Javanese Ramaya*n*a (the Kakavin), but agrees in a remarkable way with the corresponding passage in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsham. In the 10th canto of Raghuvamsham, the gods led by the *r*ishi Bh*r*igu, invoke Vi*sn*u in the midst of the waters of the ocean."

In the following scenes are depicted the visit of Vishvamitra to the court of Dasharatha, Tâ*r*akâ and another giantess being shot down with arrows by Rama, the interview with Janaka, Sita's Svayamvara, the breaking of the bow, Parashurama wearing अक्षमाला facing Rama and Sita, Kaikeyi talking to Dasharatha about the festive preparations (there are green cocoanuts and मङ्गल कलश in the back-ground), a woman dancing a war dance, with a sword and a shield in her hands, before two princes, and Dasharatha in a melancholy attitude with Kaushalyâ behind him.

Then we have a forest scene with three crowned figures in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by a pair of horses (Rama, Sita and Lak*s*ma*n*a leaving for the forest). In the next we find a group of workmen. One of them is putting a richly ornamented chest on an altar. Other servants (all with wooly hair like negroes) are apparently busy with some preparations. A lady is sitting with three money-bags in front of her. Is this the Shradh ceremony after Dasharatha's death?

Then we have Rama handing over his sandals to Bharata, his combat with Virâdha and another Rak*s*asa (with a house on a wooden pile in the back-ground), Rama punishing the crow for vexing Sita, the visit of Surpanakhâ, Rama shooting the golden deer, Sita being abducted by Rava*n*a disguised as a Brahman, Rava*n*a's struggle with Ja*t*âyu (Rava*n*a and Sita are here carried on a platform which a winged demon bears on his head), Sita giving a ring to the wounded Ja*t*âyu, Ja*t*âyu handing over the ring to Lak*s*ma*n*a, Rama shooting Kabandha (who has got a head on his shoulders besides a second head in his belly), and Kabandha going to heaven seated on a lotus.

The next relief represents a prince shooting an arrow at a crocodile in a tank and a lady on the bank in the attitude of prayer. Is this the Shabari episode on the bank of the Pampâ lake?

After that takes place the meeting with Hanuman. This was the first relief discovered and led to the whole series being identified with the Ramaya*n*a.

In the next, Sugriva is seen weeping on a tree. His tears are flowing into Laks*ma*n*a*'s quiver. In the Malay version Laks*ma*n*a* brings water for Rama in his quiver. The water tastes like tears and this leads to the discovery of Sugriva.

Then we have the interview with Sugriva, Rama shooting his arrow through seven trees to show his prowess to Sugriva, the first fight between Bâli and Sugriva, with Rama standing in a hesitating attitude (a cockatoo on a tree in the back-ground), the second fight and death of Bâli (Sugriva with a wreath of leaves round his waist), the wedding of Târâ and Sugriva, Rama, Sugriva, etc., holding a consultation, the chief monkey warriors being presented to Rama, Hanuman jumping over to Lanka and Hanuman discovering Sita (a servant with wooly hair in the back-ground). It should be noted that the servants in all the scenes in which they appear have wooly hair. Negro slaves must already have been familiar figures in the Javanese courts.

The concluding scenes are :—the burning of Lankâ by Hanuman with his flaming tail (here the artist has with a fine sense of humour introduced into this scene of cofusion the figure of an ascetic taking away treasures from a burning house), Hanuman reporting his exploits to Rama, Rama on the sea-shore bow in hand, and the sea-god rising from the waters, the building of the bridge and fishes swallowing up the stones. This last episode (of the swallowing of stones) is to be met with in the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama.

There are minor details where the Prambanan reliefs differ from the Ramaya*n*a of Valmiki such as for example :— the introduction of a second Râk*s*hasi in the Tâ*r*akâ episode and a second Rak*s*hasa in the combat with Virâdha, the punishment of the crow, Sita's giving a ring to Ja*t*âyu and Ja*t*âyu handing over the ring to Laks*ma*n*a*, Ravana being carried by a flying demon, the two heads of Kabandha, the different version of the first meeting with Sugriva, Rama desisting from shooting his arrow into the sea, the fishes swallowing up the stones used for making the bridge, etc. It is curious, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that as regards these variations, the reliefs, instead of following the contemporary Old Javanese Kakavin, seem to approach more closely the second (later) group of Javanese Rama stories and the Malay version.

We may now leave Prambanan with the remark that nowhere else, whether in India, Cambodia or Siam, are the exploits of Rama carved in stone in such a detailed and at the same time truly artistic way.

Four hundred years passed after the construction of Prambanan before there rose in East Java the temple of Panataran with its Rama reliefs in an Indonesian style far

removed from the orthodox Indian style of the earlier shrine (Prambanan). There is another point of difference as Rama and Krishna reliefs are both found in Panataran in the same temple, as there is only one shrine here.

Several dated inscriptions have been discovered in Panataran. The last date, corresponding to 1347 A. D., would bring us to the reign of the great queen of Majapahit, Jaya-visnu-vardhani, the mother of Hyam Vuruk. Probably the temple, which was begun by her predecessors, was finished during her reign. Panataran was also known as Pala in the Majapahit period. In the Nagarkrtagama Hyam Wuruk, the most famous of the Javanese monarchs, is mentioned as visting Pala several times to worship Shiva. So it is a Shaiva temple and it is also the largest ancient building in East Java.

Hanuman's exploits in the Lanka Kanda are represented in the Panataran reliefs. We may note among them,—Hanuman reaching Lanka, Ravana and two of his queens seated in his treasury (which looks like a three-storeyed pagoda), Ravana in the Ashoka grove, Sita with Trijata and Hanuman coming down from a tree to meet Sita. Then we have spirited battle scenes between Hanuman and Raksasas, trees uprooted, detachments of Bhutas marching in martial array to meet Hanuman, heaps of dead and dying Raksasas, etc. We are then introducted to Ravana's court, we see messengers kneeling before the King and we get a glimpse of a Raksasa plucking out the hairs of his beard with pincers. In the following scenes we find Hanuman breaking the arm of Aksa (Ravana's son), the monkey warrior taking a sea-bath after all this toil and trouble and then hurrying back to the fight in the garden of celestial trees. Indrajit then appears mounted on a horse (with *naga* heads) with a snake arrow in his bow. Hanuman is bound in the coils of the *naga-pasha* (नागपाश) and is led a captive to Ravana's presence. After that Hanuman bursts the bonds and with his flaming tail sets the palace on fire. We see women fleeing and Ravana with his queen seeking refuge in his water-palace. Hanuman then leaves Lanka after again visting Sita. In the final scenes are represented the construction of the bridge, monkeys bearing elaborate standards reconnoitering the battle-field, the beginning of the great fight, Hanuman killing a Raksasa with a vajra and the death of Kumbhakarna.

The human faces are done badly in this series but the monkeys and demons are quite artistic.

The story, as depicted in the Panataran reliefs, follows very closely the Old Javanese version of the Ramayana—the Kakavin. It is very strange, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that some of the 9th century Prambanan reliefs should be best explained by the much later Javanese 'Ramayanas of

the second group (the Serat Kandas, etc.) and the Malay version based on them, while the 14th century Panataran scenes should agree closely with the earlier Kakavin (of the first group) which follows Valmiki pretty accurately. Is it because that in the later Javanese versions some of the older (and cruder) Indian traditions have been preserved which do not find a place in the Kakavin which follows the literary and polished text of Valmiki? Some of these unorthodox traditions are of the pre-Valmiki period which the great sage rejected as too crude for his own immortal version of the story (cp. D. C. Sen's Ramaya*n*a).

Finally the technique of the Panataran reliefs is pure Javanese (or Indonesian) as distinguished from the purely Indian style of Prambanan. Here too there is a revival of older indigenous traditions. The back-ground in the Panataran pictures is full of magical symbols which must be survivals of very old Malay-Polynesian superstitions.

It is the art of Panataran which leads to the Wayang (the popular puppet shows of modern Java) and which still survives in the style of art which we find to-day in the island of Bali.

FALL OF THE LAST HINDU KINGDOM OF JAVA

The last Hindu kingdom of Java was Majapahit—a name which its poet and historian Prapancha translates into Sanskrit as Bilva-tikta. This principality in East Java rose to the height of its power under King Hyam Wuruk (1350-1389 A. D.). Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the young cock) is also known by his title of Sri Rajasanagara in Prapancha's chronicle Nagarakritagama. This king and his *pati* or minister Gajamada brought the whole Archipelago under the sway of Majapahit. This maritime empire stretched as far as New Guinea to the east and the Philippine Islands to the north. Many names given in the long list of its dependencies cannot now be identified—some of these may have been places on the north-west coast of Australia. Considerable portions of the Malaya Peninsula also acknowledged the suzerainty of Majapahit. But after the death of this great king Majapahit's foreign possessions rapidly fell away. Majapahit itself had to fight for its existence against enemies among which the most formidable was the rising power of Islam.

Before we commence the history of its decline and downfall we might turn for a moment to a bright picture drawn of the great capital city by Prapancha in his Nagarakritagama Prapancha was a contemporary of Hyam Wuruk and followed the king during the royal tours. "The capital Majapahit (Bilva Tikta or Tikta Shriphala) is encircled by a wall, a wall of red brick—thick and high. On the west there is a great open space surrounding a deep artificial lake. Brahmasthana trees, each with a *bodhi* terrace at its foot, stand in rows, and here are posted the guards who keep watch by turn in this public square. In the north there is a *Gopura* with iron gates. Towards the east there is a high cupola—the ground-floor of which is laid with *vajra* (cement). From the north to the south runs the market square—exceedingly long and very fine with buildings all around. In every Chaitra the army meets here. In the south there is a fine cross-road and a wide and spacious open space. North of this square there is an audience-hall where the learned and the ministers sit together. East of it is a place where the Shaiva and the Buddhist priests speak and argue about their doctrines. There is also accommodation here for making offerings during the eclipse of the moon for the good of the whole country. Here also are the *homakundas* in groups of three. In the centre is a lofty Shiva temple and and to the south of it dwell the *vipras* in a building of many

storeys. Near an open space in the vicinity the Buddhist clergy dwell in a building of three storeys adorned with pinnacles and fine sculpture. All this is bestrewn with flowers when the king comes there or when there is a sacred festival. To the south is the grand stand for the public—where the king gives his public audiences. The road which runs towards the west has got beautiful buildings on both sides and in the middle of the road there are everywhere *mimusapana* trees in flower. At a certain distance in this direction there is a cupola round which the army marches on State occasions. Then in the middle of an open space we find and ample pavilion where innumerable birds are always chirping. Here again is the audience hall which communicates with the second entry of the palace. These buildings have solid walls and pillars and there are galleries connecting them together. Here, *i. e.*, in the open square in front of the audience-hall ivory cocoanuts and betels, conches and excellent elephants are offered to the royal ladies by people who have come from the forest districts and by sailors from distant seas. The officers of the royal army have quarters to the north of this second entrance of the palace. To the south are the quarters of the *bhujangas*—the learned people. Toward the west are many buildings occupied by the ministers on duty. . . . . Entering by this second gate one comes to a lovely square with many beautiful covered seats. Here those who went to pay their homage to the king, have to wait. To the east is the magnificent pavilion, incomparable in beauty, where His Majesty gives audience to those who humbly approach him. . . . . The Prime Minister, the Aryas, ... and the 'Trusted Five' (this is the cabinet of Majapahit)—these are the highest who apporach the throne. The Kshatriyas and Bhujangas, the Rishis and Brahmans stand in the shadow of the Ashoka tree near the royal *vitana*. The two Chief Judges with their five assessors who in their behaviour are so *arya* as to deserve imitation, also approach the *vitana* hall to have audience with H. M. Sri Rajasanagara."

Thus Prapancha goes on to describe the other palaces of the relations of the king—most of whom held important administrative posts in the realm—situated in squares full of Mimusapana, Keshara and Champaka flowering trees.

The court religion of this period appears from the Nagarakritagama to be a curious mixture of Mahayana and Shaiva doctrines both strongly imbued with Tantric influence. Tantrayana texts like the Kamaliayanikan were composed about this period. Gross Tantric rites in aristocratic circles prepared the way for the progress of Islam in Java.

The art of this period was reverting to Polynesian

influence— *e.g.*, in the fantastic but still artistic Ramayana reliefs of the Chandi Panataran.

Such was the capital city of Majapahit in it its palmiest days of glory. Just after the death of Hyam Wuruk (or Rajasanagara) in 1389 A. D. there was a partition of the kingdom. Virabhumi, the son of the late king and his *selir* (concubine), had been ruled out of the succession, but he took possession of Eastern Java by force while Majapahit itself with the rest of the kingdom fell to the share of Hyam Wuruk's son-in-law Vikramavardhana who had married the crown princess. Vikramavardhana and his queen had a daughter Suhita on whom the throne of Majapahit was conferred by her father—excluding his sons who were the issues of his *selis* (concubines). There was civil war, famine, and great disorder. The foreign possessions of Majapahit could not be kept together any more. In Java itself a certain Bhra Daha made himself independent at Daha. His descendants were to be the mortal enemies of Majapahit. Queen Suhita was succeeded by her younger brother Kritavijaya. Muhammadan chronicles mention that Kritavijaya's Queen was a princess of Champa who favoured Islam. If the story be true then this princess would be the sister of Jayasimhavarman V of Champa—who with the help of the Emperor of China won back the northern provinces of Champa from the Annamities. Another sister of this Champa princess is said to have married an Arab priest—Sheikh Ibrahim. Her son Raden Rahmat, it is said, came to Java to visit his royal aunt, and in Islamic chronicles he is celebrated as the first apostle of the new faith in Java. He assumed the title of Susuhunan and is believed to have constructed the first mosque built on Javanese soil. Sir Stamford Raffles however dismisses the whole episode as mere fiction.

The successor of Kritavijaya was Rajasavardhana who reigned only from 1451 to 1453. How he was related to his predecessor is not known, nor is it clear why he left Majapahit and resided at Keling.

After him for three years there was an interregnum Then two princes followed one another on the throne of Majapahit, Both of them had short reigns and the last left the capital.

The king, who is usually called Bhra Vijaya V, reigned from 1468-1478 and died in his capital. Such are the unconnected facts which we know about the last years of Majapahit.

It is generally accepted that Majapahit fell in 1478. Sir Stamford Raffles gives the popular Muhammadan version of the story. Among the wives of Browijoyo was a Chinese lady. She was repudiated by the Javanase monarch, when pregnant of Raden Patah. She had to seek shelter with

Arya Damar, the chief of Palembang (the old Shrivijaya in Sumatra), who was a relation of Browijyo. Raden Patah, when he grew up, accompanied by Raden Husen, a real son of Arya Damar, came to Java from Sumatra after becoming converts to the Muhammadan religion of which Palembang was the most important centre. Raden Patah, who was really the son of Browijoyo, become a devotee, while his step-brother Raden Husen sought temporal advantages and soon became the commander-in-chief of the Majapahit army. Raden Patah began to intrigue for the subversion of the Hindu religion. Having at last formed a considerable party and mustered a respectable force, he gave the command to a Javanese—for he himself was not a military leader. This is said to have happened in 1468 A. D. The Muhammadan force was defeated by the Hindu army under the command of Husen. Raden Patah was however, not discouraged by this defeat at the hands of his step-brother. He obtained succour from the faithful at Palembang and was soon able to assemble a fresh Muslim army. Husen, still the commander of the Hindu army of Majapahit, was now in his turn defeated. Majapahit fell and was destroyed. And this triumph of Islam took place in 1400 Saka *i. e.*, 1478 A. D.

This version however is refuted by an inscription dated 1408 Saka (1486 A. D.) found engraved on a rock in the south-east of Surabaya. Prof. Krom in his new book on the Indo-Javanese period Indo-Javaansche Geschiedenis gives all the facts bearing on this matter brought to light by recent research work. In this inscription a Brahman, Brahmaraja, versed in the four Vedas, is mentioned as the recipient of gifts from a Hindu ruler. This Brahman is represented as having inspired this king with ambitious ideas which led the prince to a position of overlordship. This prince is mentioned in the inscription as living at Jinggan "where the battle was fought against Majapahit." The name of this king is given as Ranavijaya Girindravardhana and it is he who may have seized Majapahit in 1478 A.D.

The coast-line of Java was however already Islamized, but the Muslim rulers of these places still recognized a Hindu suzerain ruling inland.

Barros, a Portuguese writer, writes about 1498 A.D. that in the East (he means thereby the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula) the Hindus ruled but Malaka, a part of the Sumatran coast and some sea-ports in Java were in Muhammadan occupation. Barros refers to the influence of Islam as a pest which spread from Malaka along trade channels.

Malaka, in the second half of the 15th century, had become a great emporium of trade between East and West (*i. e.*, China and Java on one side and India and Arabia on

the other). In India Gujrat was the province which had most frequent trade relations with Malaka.

Thus at the end of the 15th century the suzerain power was still Hindu though places on the sea-coast were fast becoming Muhammadan. In 1509 Malaka itself, the stronghold of Islam, was afraid of an attack by the Javanese Hindu king. In the same year the first Portuguese ships appeared before Malaka. In 1511 came Albuquerque himself from Cochin capturing Gujrati ships wherever he could find them.

There was a Hindu settlement in Malaka which was a discordant element in a Muhammadan atmosphere. The leader of the Hindus, Timut Raja, entered into secret negotiations with the Portuguese. The Javanese Hindu king himself sent an ambassador with presents to Albuquerque—for he was not on friendly terms with the Sultan of Malaka who oppressed his Hindu subjects. The Sultan was driven out by the Portuguese.

In 1513 Albuquerque wrote to the king of Portugal referring to the Hindu overlord of Java as seeking the alliance of the Portuguese. Albuquerque adds: "The other towns, which are in his territory, will necessarily be on friendly terms with us—or we shall send a small fleet to the help of the Javanese king."

The last trustworthy Portuguese account of Hindu Java is of the year 1514. The Governor de Brito writes to King Manuel of Portugal in January, 1514:—"Java is a great island. There are two Kafir (*i. e.*, non-Muslim) kings—one is called the King of Sunda (W. Java) and the other of Java. The rulers on the coast are Muhammadan and some of them are very powerful. They have many ships and great influence."

The Italian Pigafetta, who travelled in these regions in 1522 with the great Magellan, writes:—"The greatest towns in Java are these: Majapahit, the king of which place when he lived, was the greatest prince of all the islands and was called Raja Pati Unus; and then Sunda, Daha, Demak, Gajamada, etc. . ."

Now we know from earlier Portuguese accounts that Pati Unus was a warlike Muhammadan prince of Japara (in W. Java). He had fought naval action with the Portuguese admiral d'Andrade in 1513 in which he was beaten only with great difficulty by the Portuguese. After this Pati Unus is mentioned as the conqueror of Sunda (westernmost part of Java.) Did he also win for Islam the great eastern kingdom of Majapahit? The last Hindu ruler of Java must then have fallen before the victorious arms of Pati Unus between 1513 and 1522.

Later Javanese tradition, as recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles, points to another person as the champion of Islam,

This Muslim apostle was the Sultan of Cheribon (in W. Java) —still revered as Sheikh Maulana. He was an Arab by birth and he and his two sons are said to have conquered and converted the whole of West Java towards the close of the 15th century. The ruling Muhammadan princes in West Java still look on Sheikh Maulana as their common ancestor.

Thus the Arab traders who first came to Sumatra and Java as early as the end of the 7th century to carry on trade and commerce with the Farther East succeeded by the beginning of the 16th century in winning political supremacy and propagating their religion throughout the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. But already enterprising mariners from Portugal and Spain had made their appearance in the arena and the Dutch were soon to follow. Political supremacy was to be wrested soon from the Muslim princes but the religious supremacy of Islam is still unquestioned in these regions.

THE MAHABHARATA AND THE WAYANG IN JAVA*

The Javanese puppet shows, known as the 'wayang,' have preserved the old Hindu traditions even now, when Java has been a Muhammadan country for more than five centuries. The performer, who is called the 'dalang,' manipulates by means of strings the movements of the puppets and makes their shadows fall on a screen. The performance is accompanied by the Javanese orchestra which is known by the name of the 'gamelan.' The puppets represent the figures of the heroes and the heroines of the Indian epics. Convention has fixed the size, the appearance, the colour and the ornaments of each of the figures.

Already about 1000 A. D. the 'wayang' was so popular in Java that poets borrowed their similes from these shadow-plays and spectators followed the representations with the liveliest interest. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles speaks thus of the 'wayang' :—"The interest excited by such spectacles, connected with national recollections, is almost inconceivable. The eager multitude will sit listening with rapturous delight and profound attention for whole nights to these dramas."

And to-day too the 'wayang' is indispensable on important occasions in the household—so highly is it esteemed both by the rich and the poor, the old and the young.

When the Hindus came to Java they brought their sacred texts along with them. Of these the Mahabharata soon became the most popular among the Javanese. Its eighteen cantos were rapidly dramatized. Some of these renderings, which were composed in prose during the reign of the great Erlangga in the eleventh century A. D., have been recently re-discovered and published by the Dutch scholars. In the Malay literature these adaptations from the great epic are known as the *Hikayat Pandawa lima.* Portions of the Mahabharata were also rendered into old Javanese or Kavi poetry during the reign of Jayabaya of Kediri by his court poet Penoolooh. This work is known as the Bharata Yuddha (Brata Yuda in modern Javanese). Persons and places referred to in the epic became so familiar to the Javanese that in the course of time the episodes of the Mahabharata were supposed to have taken place in Java itself and Javanese princes claimed lineal descent from the Pandava and the Yadava heroes.

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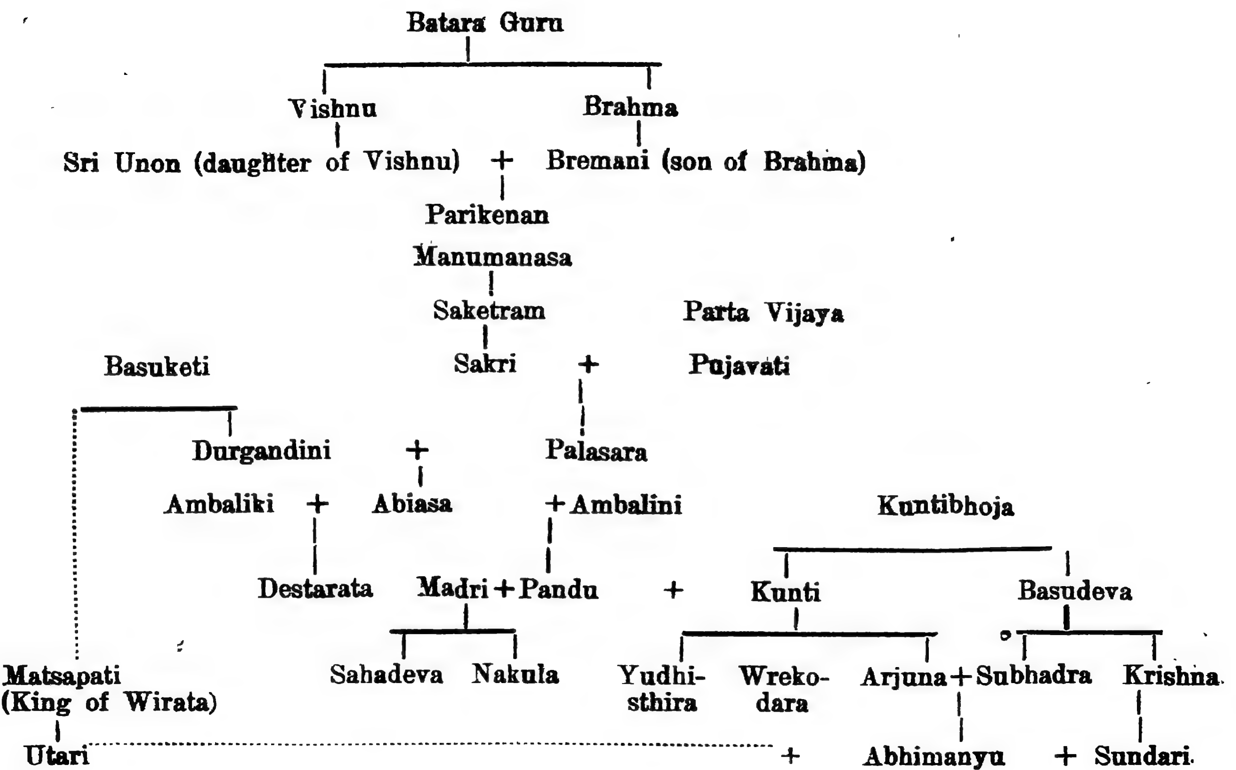
* This paper is based on Kats' *Javaansche Toonel.*

From the very beginning however old Malay-Polynesian myths mingled with the Indian traditions. And during the period 1500 to 1758, when the Muhammadan conquest was followed by devastating wars the old Hindu associations receded into the background. When, therefore, about the middle of the eighteenth century there was a Javanese renaissance, interest in the old times revived and energetic attempts were made to recover the Hindu literature. But the Kavi or old Javanese language could be read but imperfectly at this time. Thus strange mistakes crept into the texts which were written in this period though they were based on old Javanese texts which were still available in the eighteenth century. Lastly the 'dalang' (the performer of the shadow-plays) himself introduced changes as he was continuously adapting the old stories to the environments of the day in order to make his representations more popular.

The 'dalang,' while performing the show, generally looks to 'lakons' or short dramatic sketches to refresh his memory. He also improvises on the spur of the moment to suit the taste of the audience. There are some larger texts besides these 'lakons.'

These short dramas are divided by M. Kats into four groups : (1) Stories of gods, giants and the origin of heroes generally taken from the *Adiparva* of the Mahabharata. In these stories there is mingled a considerable element of Malay-Polynesian legends. (2) The Arjuna Sahana Bahu group. (3) The 'lakons' based on the Ramayana. (4) The last and the most important group deals with adventures of the Pandavas and the Yadavas.

About 150 'lakons' are based on the Mahabharata. Eight of them, the Vishnu Krama, Bambang Kalinga, Palasara Rabi, etc., describe the ancestors of the Pandavas. From these may be summed up the following genealogical outline.—


Batara Guru
Vishnu
Brahma
Sri Unon (daughter of Vishnu) + Bremani (son of Brahma)
Parikenan
Manumanasa
Saketram
Parta Vijaya
Basuketi
Sakri + Pujavati
Durgandini + Palasara
Ambaliki + Abiasa + Ambalini
Kuntibhoja
Destarata
Madri + Pandu + Kunti
Basudeva
Matsapati (King of Wirata)
Sahadeva
Nakula
Yudhi-sthira
Wreko-dara
Arjuna + Subhadra
Krishna
Utari + Abhimanyu + Sundari

In the Mahabbharata the wanderings of the Pandavas begin after the Jatugriha adventure. Then Yudhisthira is crowned king at Indraprastha. After that comes the game of dice followed by further wanderings and then the Pandavas live in disguise at the court of king Virata. Hostilities commence at Kurukshetra with the reappearance of the Pandavas in public.

The Javanese lakons do not always follow the original. According to their version—a game of chess is played in the Jatugriha itself, and during the game the Pandava brothers are given poisoned drinks. Bhima (Brata Sena in Javanese) alone retains his senses and removes his brothers from the burning house. Then after long wanderings the brothers reach the country called Wirata. When they make themselves known at last to king Matsapati of Wirata—they receive as a present from their host the realm of Ngamarta (Indraprastha). Draupadi's *svayamvara* takes place at this period.

Meanwhile, Sujudana (Duryodhana) becomes very powerful at Ngastina (Hastina). The Pandavas are driven out of their capital by him. They seek refuge at the court of King Matsyapati of Wirata. Even Krishna has to abandon his capital Dvaravati. Then follows the Brata Yuda (Bharata Yuddha).

Arjuna is the greatest favourite of the Javanese audience. He plays the leading role in at least fifty lakons. At the outset of his career, however, by a disreputable trick he gets rid of his rival Palgu Nadi—who is also a brilliant pupil of Drona. His wooing of Subhadra and his combats with other aspirants to her hand are narrated in several lakons. Numerous are his other adventures and love affairs. His Javanese names are also numerous : Permade, Endralaya, Parta Kusuma, Chakra Nagara, etc. In some lakons Sikandi is represented as one of the wives of Arjuna. Two of his sons are married to two daughters of Krishna. On the other hand, Arjuna's daughter Sugatavati is given in marriage to Krishna's son Samba. These (and other) descendants of Krishna and Arjuna are supposed to have founded some of the princely houses of Java.

Punta-deva Yudhisthira, Wrekodara or Brata Sena, Dewi Arimbi and her son Gatotkacha, Sujudana (Duryodhana—an incarnation of Dasamukha) are all familiar names in Muslim Java. Indeed, custom prescribes that such and such a lakon of the Mahabbharata should be played on such and such an occasion in the family.

TANTRISM IN CAMBODIA, SUMATRA AND JAVA

Tantrism flourished in Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. We have no precise information as to when it was introduced into this island. But we know that in Cambodia Tantric texts are mentioned in the ninth century A. D.

A Cambodian inscription relates how a Brahman of the name of Hiranyadama, came from Janapada to the court of Jayavarman II (802-869 A. D.). This Brahman recited the Vinashika, the Nayottara, the Sammoha and the Shirashcheda from beginning to end, so that they could be written down and then he taught the Royal High Priest these texts. It is mentioned also that these four texts constituted the four faces of the Tumburu.

Now there are three regions each with its special Tantras, and among the Tantras of the Vishnukranta region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) there are two works, Sammohana and Niruttara Tantras, the titles of which approach very closely to the names by which two of the texts (Sammoha and Nayottara) are mentioned in this Cambodian inscription. Again 'Tumburu' is the name of a Gandharva and there is a Gandharva Tantra in the Vishnukranta group. It is interesting to note that another group of Tantras is mentioned, the Ashvakranta group, to which is allocated the region extending from the Karatoya river (in Bengal) to Java. There are other references in Cambodian inscriptions as to how several kings were initiated into the Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret) by their Brahman *gurus* : Cambodian Buddhism was probably much more free from Tantric influence than Javanese Buddhism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But there is reference in an eleventh century inscription to the "Tantras of the Paramis." Also images of He-vajra, a Tantric Buddhist divinity, have been recently discovered at Angkor Thom, the ancient capital of Cambodia.

In Java Tantrism seems to have attained greater importance. Kritanagara (1268-1292 A. D.), the last ruler of the kingdom of Singasari (in East Java), who was adored in his lifetime as Shiva-Buddha, was an adept in Tantric practices. Prapancha, the author of the important Kavi (old-Javanese) chronicle Nagarakritagama, says that Kritanagara had gone through the ten ceremonies of purification and the eight processes of initiation and that he diligently carried out the *pancha makaras* "free from all sensual delusion." He goes on to say, "After Kritanagara's 'jina initiation,' his name

was everywhere known as Shri Jnana-bajreshvara." We know also from the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the statue of this king dressed as a monk that after his 'jina initiation' on a cremation ground, Kritanagara was supposed to be identified with Mahaksobhya. His funeral monument was adorned with two images, both of them described as exquisitely beautiful, one of Shiva and the other of Aksobhya.

Then we come to the Tantric inscriptions of Adityavarman, a prince of Sumatra (c. 1343-1378 A. D.). An inscription of this prince dated 1269 Shaka era (1347 A. D.) describes the consecration of a Buddhist sculptural group of Amoghapasha-Gaganaganja with his companions and in this connection speaks of the virtuous practices to be observed by the Buddhist community, and then goes on to praise the practices of Yoga of the Mahayana. At the same time it glorifiies a god and goddess Matanganisha and his Tara. Prof. Kern remarks that Matanganisha and Tara must be Amoghapasha and his Shakti and presumably they are Buddhistically fitted aspects of Shiva and Durga. In this inscription Matanganisha is represented as drunken and amorous—executing a mystic dance with his Tara in a locality resounding with the notes of birds, perfumed with the sweet scent of jasmine, full of the humming of bees and the cries of rutting elephants, and the merry shouts of sportive Gandharvas. Probably Adityavarman himself is to be identified with Matanganisha and his queen with Tara and the inscription commemorates some Tantric rite performed by the royal pair. Adityavarman is supposed to be an incarnation of Kama-raja-adhimukti-sadasmrtijna, *i. e.*, Kama whose endeavours are continuously directed towards *mukti*. This fitts in well with the scene depicted here where the royal couple carry on their amorous dance (in the aspect of Matanganisha and Matangini in the fragrant groves, echoing with the lovely songs of nymphs, where lovers, with their locks of hair adorned with mandara blossoms, seek out trysting places where they disport themselves with their beloved. Is the whole scene the description of some *chakra* ceremony ?

Another inscription of Adityavarman dated 1297 Shaka era (1375 A. D.) narrates that on Tuesday, in the month of Jyaisthya of that year, king Adityavarman was made a Kshetrajna with the title of Vishera Dharani. Then it goes on :—"seated on a high seat, eating delicacies, lord of Suravasa drinking, laughing with myriads of flowers spreading on all sides their perfume....The perfume of Adityavarman's offerings is indeed indescribable." The sentences are disconnected and the meaning can only be guessed at. But we may be sure that this obscure passage does not refer to a royal picnic. As Herr I. J. L. Moens has tried to

explain (Tijd. Batav. Genoot., 1924) all this may mean that king Adityavarman became a Kshetrajna in a cremation ground (like king Kritanagara)—enthroned on a heap of corpses, laughing like a maniac, drinking blood, while his *mahaprashada* (his human sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around a dreadful smell.

Finally, we came to the Mantrayana text—the Kamaliayanikan, a Kavi (old-Javanese) work which has been recently edited (in Dutch) by M. Kats. This text, we may conclude from the internal evidence gleaned from its pages, dates from the Majapahit period (14th and 15th centuries A. D.)—*i. e*, during the rule of the last Hindu kingdom of Java. It commences with Sanskrit slokas extolling in very high terms this particular way to salvation. The Sanskrit verses are accompanied by a Kavi (old Javanese) commentary which is extremely obscure as in addition to the difficulties presented by the Kavi language it abounds with Tantric technical terms. Some of the introductory stanzas may be construed as follows: "Come, Oh child, I shall teach you fully the method of Mantra-charya-nayam of Mahayana as you are worthy of receiving this great lesson. The Buddhas who have gone and those who have not yet arrived (in this world) and those who are still existing for the welfare of the universe—all of them have attained omniscience through the knowledge of this supreme Vajra Mantra system. . . .You should practise this noble Yana which is beyond positive and negative, clear as the sky, solemn, indisputable, stainless beyond all illusion, which is manifested only by its own manifestations, which is free from all action, beyond the duality of truth and falsehood—the greatest, noblest path. . . . One should not speak of vajra, ghanta and mudra to those who are not in the mandala and only the faithful, who is in the circle, may laugh (*i.e.*, think himself fortunate)."

Then comes the sloka: "There is nothing which is prohibited for him who has attained the highest wisdom. He should enjoy at all times, without any hesitation, the pancha Kamas (the pancha makaras ?)." In another passage we find: "Vajra, ghanta, and mudra are never to be abandoned, the acharya is never to be despised, he is equal to all the Buddhas. Therefore, never insult the Vajracharya mahaguru even if you can see no good in him." In the concluding stanzas we get: "To-day your lives have fulfilled their purpose, today, well-versed in this (doctrine), you have become the equal of the gods. . . .to-day without the slightest doubt, after having overcome Mara, you have reached the supreme goal and have attained Buddha-hood."*

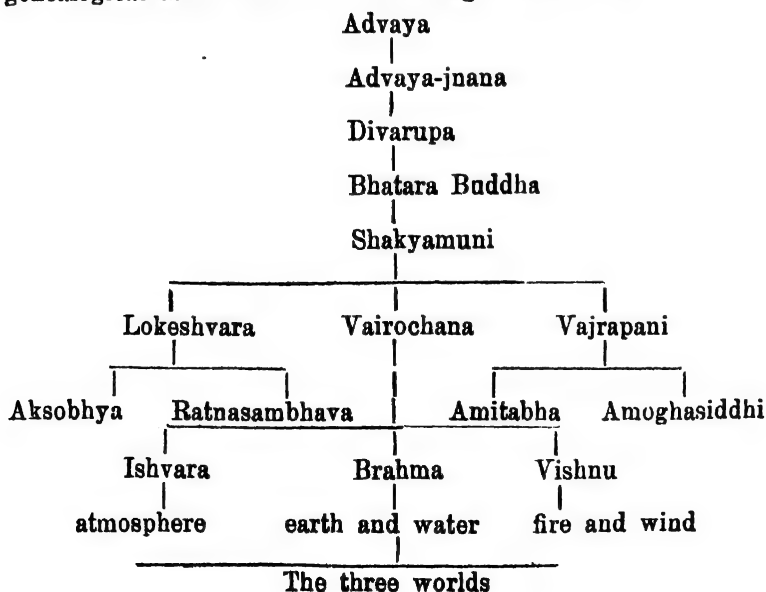
* I have to express my thanks to Pandit Krishnanand Pant, M. A. for helping me with the Sanskrit text.

In the Kavi (old-Javanese) text, which follows the Sanskrit slokas, occurs the following passage: "The ten paramitas (dana, shila, kranti, etc.) have for tatva (essence)—five Devis. Shri Vajradhatishvari Devi, of peerless wisdom and beauty, is the tatva of six paramitas. The tatva of Lochana is maitri, of Mamaki karuna, of Pandaravasini mudita, of Tara upeksa. In this way the ten paramitas have five Devis as tatva."

After the paramitas the Mahaguhya (the Great Secret) is mentioned which is the means of meeting the Lord and consists of Yoga and Bhavana. Yoga, the heritage (as is given in the text) transmitted (to us) by the illustrious Dignaga, is of four kinds: Mula Yoga which makes us realize the Lord of Akasha, Madhya Yoga which acquaints us with the Lord who is in (our) bodies, Vasana Yoga which introduces us to the Lord of Prithivi-mandala and Anta Yoga by which we know that there is a Lord in the Shunyatamandala.

This reference to Dignaga is interesting. In this connection we may recall the tradition that Dharmapala, the disciple of Dignaga, after having adorned for thirty years the University of Nalanda, spent the last years of his life in Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra ?).

Enough has been said about the Kamaliayanikan to show that is well worth the careful study of scholars who have specialized in the Tantras. The last part of the Kavi text is very obscure and I shall end here by giving a curious genealogical table from this interesting Tantric work."



GREATER INDIA SOCIETY BULLETIN NO. 5

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(Second edition, revised and enlarged)

PART II

(INSCRIPTIONS)

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PREFACE

The second part of this Bulletin contains the Sanskrit Inscriptions from the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. In offering this little work to the public, I have to tender my apology for its various shortcomings. It is not a pretension to scholarship, and I had to face considerable difficulties in seeing the book through the Press. After I had left Calcutta I had hardly any access to the books of reference needed for such a publication and I had mainly to depend on notes taken at Calcutta The same has been the case with Dr. Chatterji. Under these circumstances it is just possible that some inscriptions may have been left out but I do not think there has been any important omission. No proper impressions of the epigraphs were available and I had to depend, in many cases, on imperfect facsimiles. Sometimes even such help was not forthcoming. I am responsible for the texts and translations of the inscriptions but the introductions are mainly the joint work of the authors. I regret to state that it has not been possible to indicate the diacritical marks in a satisfactory fashion. Many printing errors have also remained uncorrected.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, the Secretary of the Greater India Society, who has been in so many ways helpful to me.

N. P. C

CONTENTS OF PART II

Introductory.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HINDU-BUDDHIST PERIOD OF JAVANESE HISTORY.

Yavadvîpa (Java) is mentioned in the Ramayana where Sugriva sends out searching parties in quest of Sita. Ptolemy, who wrote his geography about 150 A. D., refers to Java as Jabadieu—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley.

The earliest inscriptions discovered in these distant islands come from Borneo. The language is Sanskrit and the script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and of the earliest epigraphy of Champâ (Annam) and Kambuja (Cambodia). The Borneo inscriptions are, however, much earlier than the Pallava inscriptions. Indeed we may say that it is in this remote island that we first find the script which became known later on by the name of Pallava Grantha. These Borneo records describe a yajna (sacrifice) performed by Brahmans for King Mulavarman. On palaeographical grounds these inscriptions (as they bear no dates) have been assigned by archaeologists to the 4th century A. D.

The next series of epigraphic records refer to King Purnavarman of Târuma-nagara which has been located near modern Batavia in West Java. The script is the same as that found in Borneo and on palaeographical grounds this series (which also bear no dates) have been assigned to c. 450 A. D. Purnavarman apparently was an illustrious monarch whose footprints have been carved on the stiles (of the inscriptions) and have been compared with Vishnu-pada-padma.

A little before this period (in 413 A. D.) Fa-hien reached Java on his way from Ceylon to China. He says that in this island there many Brahmans and but few Buddhists.

Buddhism is said to have been first preached in Java by a Kashmir prince, Gunavarman, in 423 A. D. From Java the ascetic prince passed on to China.

For three centuries we get no more inscriptions. But Chinese annals fill up the gap to some extent. They tell us of a kingdom of the name of Lan-ga-su in N.-W. Java and of another called Kalinga in Central Java. West Java now falls into the background.

It is in Central Java that we get the first dated record which has been as yet discovered in this island. This is

the Janggal inscription of the Shaka year 654 (732 A. D). The script is still Pallava Grantha and the language highly ornate Sanskrit. It is a Shaiva record and contains a reference to Kunjara Kunja—Agastya's asrama in South India. Another inscription discovered at Dinaya—a place further to the east—and dated 682 Shaka era (760 A. D) describes the consecration of an image of Maharshi Agastya. Apparently during this period the cult of Agastya was prevalent in Java. The Dinaya inscription is the first to be written in the Kavi script—which gradually replaces Pallava Grantha in Java The language, however, is still Sanskrit.

In the last quarter of the 8th century Central Java was won from its Shaiva rulers by the Mahayanist monarchs of the powerful maritime kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra. An inscription unearthed near the beautiful temple of Tārā at Kalasan (in Central Java) informs us that this Mahayanist shrine was constructed at the command of the Srivijaya ruler of the Sailendra dynasty. Apparently the Javanese possessions were administered by governors on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. The script of this as well as of other Srivijaya inscriptions brought to light in Java and Sumatra is North Indian, closely akin to the Pala inscriptions of Nalanda. Indeed there were cordial relations between the Pala Magadha and the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya. South-eastern Sumatra (where Srivijaya was situated) became in this period a far-famed centre of learning and of commerce. The magnificent stupa of Borobodur as well as other lovely shrines and fine sculptures of this period in Central Java testify to the artistic taste of the Sumatran overlords.

About 863 A. D. Central Java seems to have been won back from its Mahayanist overlords by Hindu princes who were fervent devotees of Agastya. This appears from an inscription bearing the date 785 Shaka era (863 A. D), written not in Sanskrit but in Kavi (Old-Javanese—a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect). It refers to descendants of Agastya as having settled in this island.

Of these Hindu kings of Central Java—the names of Daksha and of Wawa have come down to us. It was probably Daksha who built the famous Prambanam group of temples with its artistic reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramayana. Wawa's headquarter was in East Java and Central Java was administered by a governor on his behalf. Indeed from the close of Wawa's reign (828 A. D.) we hear very little of Central Java. An inscription of Wawa was sent by Sir S. Raffles to Lord Minto during the short period of the British occupation of Java. It is known as the Minto stone and is now in Scotland. It contains a grant of a rent-free holding for the Bhatara of a temple.

The scene now shifts to East Java where under a minister of Wawa, of the name of Mpoo Sindok, there was established a powerful kingdom. The great Erlangga was the issue of a princess of this dynasty and Udayana, the Governor of Bali. After many romantic adventures, which have been narrated at some length in an inscription, the most interesting epigraphic record which has been found in Java, Erlangga was enthroned as the Chakravarti sovereign of Yavadvipa (1035 A. D.) He was a great patron of Kavi literature.* The Mahabharata and probably the Ramayana also were rendered into Kavi verse during his reign.

There was a partition of his kingdom after his death. The principality of Kediri (a part of Erlangga's kingdom) has become famous in Javanese history on account of its illustrious poets. The bards who adorned the court of Kediri, during the reigns of Varshajaya, Kamesvara and Jayabaya (1100-1155), composed the Kavi works Sumanasantaka, Krishnayana, Smara-dahana, Bharata Yuddha, Harivamsa, etc. Trade flourished as well as literature. Javanese ships touched Madagascar on the West and the Chinese coast on the east.

Early in the 13th century Kediri fell before the conquering adventurer Ken Arok. This remarkable person, the super-man of the Javanese chronicles, who is represented as the offspring of the Gods, committed every conceivable crime to win a throne and the hand of the peerless beauty Queen Dedes of Singasari (a vassal principality of Kediri). With the help of a Brahman, who had come from India to assist him in his pre-destined career of glory, Ken Arok made himself master of Singasari (1220 A.D.) and made that kingdom the most powerful State in Java. The charming image of Prajnaparamita, which belongs to his reign, is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

K*r*tanagara (1268-1292 A.D.), the fourth in descent from Ken Arok, was an adept in Tantric practices. He attempted the conquest of principalities in the neighbouring islands of Bali, Borneo and Sumatra but was killed in battle by a rebel vassal of his—the chief of Kediri. Before his death he had also in his pride insulted the envoy of the great Kubilai Khan of China. Shortly after his death Chinese troops landed in Java (1293 A.D.) to avenge this insult. The son-in-law of K*r*tanagara, Raden Vijaya, was a master of crafty diplomacy. At his instigation the Chinese troops marched on the rebellious realm of Kediri and subjugated it. Vijaya now made a surprise attack on the Chinese host and drove them to their ships. Having thus disposed of all his enemies—he founded the kingdom of Majapahit (1294). Majapahit was the name of a city which he himself had founded sometime ago and the city got this name from a

bael (बेल) tree with bitter fruit (in Javanese Majapahit) which grew on its site.

His daughter, the great queen Jayavishnuvardhani, began the conquest of the Archipelago (1343 A.D.) with the help of her famous minister Gajamada. Tantrism was the cult in the aristocratic circles of this period. The Kamahayanikam, a Mantrayana text, and the inscriptions of Adityavarman, a Sumatran prince, are typical examples of the prevailing Tantrism of this period.

This illustrious queen was succeeded in 1350 A. D. by her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name which means the young cock). The reign of this monarch saw the greatest expansion of Majapahit. The Nagarakṛtâgama and the Pararaton, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, give a long list of the territorial possessions of Majapahit. The whole Archipelago was brought under its sway. To the east it extended to New Guinea—to the north to the Philippine Islands. Srivijaya in Sumatra as well as Kedah, Singapore, etc., in the Malay Peninsula were all included in this list of dependencies. Mantris and Bhujangas (learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after State affairs in the distant isles. The admirals (Jaladhi-mantri) of Majapahit always held themselves ready to crush any rebellion which might break out in any remote corner of this mighty maritime empire.

In the Nagarakṛtagama, composed by Prapancha—the court-poet of Hyam Wuruk—we have a glowing description of the capital Majapahit. Buddhism and Hinduism both shared the royal favour. The Javanese art of this period (best studied in the temple of Panataran) was coming more and more under Polynesian influence.

Rapid decay set in after Hyam Wuruk's death (1389). A princess of Champa, who was married to Kṛtavijaya (one of the last rulers of Majapahit), is said to have favoured Islam which strengthencd its foothold in Java during this reign (C. 1448). The coast-line of Sumatra, Java, and the Malay Peninsula was being rapidly 'Islamised' during this period.

According to tradition Vijaya V, the last monarch of Majapahit, fell fighting the Muslim conquerors in 1478 A. D. But recent researches seem to indicate that it was a Hindu prince, Ranavijaya of Kediri, who dealt the death-blow to Majapahit in 1478. From Porturguese sources we learn that at the end of the 15th century the central authority in Java was still Hindu. In 1513 Albuquerque wrote to the King of Portugal referring to the Hindu suzerain of Java as seeking the Portuguese alliance. The last Hindu ruler of Java must have been swept away by the rising tide of Muslim conquest sometime between 1513 and 1522. In the latter year Majapahit was still considered to be the most important place in Java.

The Inscriptions.

The earliest indications of the appearance of Hinduism in the Malay Archipelago are the inscriptions of Borneo and West Java. These epigraphic records continue, in an almost unbroken series, down to the end of the Indo-Javanese period in the beginning of the 16th century. But the number of Sanskrit inscriptions found in these islands is much smaller than that of similar records discovered in Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champa (Annam). Again the historical matter which we obtain from these inscriptions is comparatively small. For almost without exception they commemorate occasions of building of temples or of pious donations. Hence we generally find in these records information as to when and by whom the building or the donation of temple or monastery or sacred image, took place. If it is a gift of land—one finds the boundaries fixed ; if privileges have been bestowed—these are carefully written down. Thus we get the regnal years of various sovereigns : we learn something about their high officials and incidentally administrative and political information in addition to religious matters. Generally we do not get in such records definite statements of historical facts. Mentions of such facts are just passing references in connection with religious ceremonials.

The inscriptions are engraved either on stone stiles or on copper plates. A few gold and silver plates have also been discovered. Some are copies of older inscriptions. The language of the earliest inscriptions (which are not dated) is Sanskrit. The first appearance of a date and another language (Old Malay) is to be found in Sumatra. Up to the middle of the 8th century A. D. the Pallava Grantha script is invariably used. Only in Srivijaya epigraphy we get the Nagari script. In the Dinaya inscription (760 A. D.) we first come across the Kavi script. This is, as Dr. Krom states, not a script freshly imported from India (Brandes thought that it had been borrowed from Gujarat), but only a later development in Java itself of the earlier Pallava script. Later inscriptions are all in Kavi characters. About the same period the Kavi language, a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect, replaces Sanskrit in the inscriptions. The Kavi inscriptions are more numerous than those in Sanskrit. The last Kavi inscription is dated 1408 Saka era (1486 A. D.). Finally we must note that for the reconstruction of the Indo-Javanese period of the history of the Archipelago we have not only these inscriptions but also the Kavi chronicles and references to these islands in the Chinese Annals. The Arab records also give valuable information for some periods.

Note—This portion is based on the introduction to Dr. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis.*

I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALAY PENINSULA

In the ruin of an ancient brick building near Bukit Meriam in Kedah, a small building some 10 feet square, Col. James Low found a slab, a kind of slate, inscribed with the formula of the Buddhist creed. Probably the small building where the slab was discovered was the hut of a disciple of Buddha. Kern, who deciphered the Sanscrit inscription would not say if it were older than another inscription unearthed by Low "while excavating some old ruins on a sandy side in the northern district of Province Wellesley." The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. On a copy of it can be seen the representation of a stupa. On either side is a line of writing, containing the same couplet as on the Kedah slab. Along the edge of the pillar is another broken inscription which shows that the monument was a gift to a temple of a pious Buddhist sea-trader Buddhagupta, who lived at a place called 'Red Earth.'* The Southern Indian style of writing agrees exactly with the type known as Pallava and in Champa in W. Java and enabled Kern to give A. D. 400 as its approxinate date. Col. Low also went on an elephant to transcribe a group of seven inscriptions on the sloping side of a granite rock at Cherok Tokum which lies near the centre of Province Wellesly. They are too small and indistinct to be more than contributions to palaeography. One is written in nearly the same type as Buddhagupta's inscription. The characters of another Kern considered to be not older than the 6th century and similar to those at Pattadakal in W. Deccan and to those of the oldest Cambodian inscriptions of Bhavavarman. Some fragmentary clay tablets were found 9 ft. below the floor of a cave in Kedah bearing undecipherable inscriptions in North Indian Nagari seript of the 10th or perhaps the 7th century A. D. Five votive tablets from Trang have been identified as relics of Mahayana Buddhism belonging to the western group of the 11th century A.D. and resembling the characters of the Benares grant of Karnadeva and the grants of the Rathors of Kanauj ; on the obverse are Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

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* This place called 'Rakta-mrttika' may be identified with the 'Rakta-mrttika vihāra' in Karṇasuvarṇa (Murshidabad) mentioned by Hsuan Tsang as Lo-to-mo-chih, wrongly translated by Watters as raktamrta. See Watters, II. p. 192 and Chatterji—*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambobia.*

At the mouth of the Singapur river was discovered a large rock inscribed with some undecipherable lettering.—The stone was blasted later by the P. W. D. Several fragments of it were sent to Calcutta. All that has been so far ascertained is that it is in a script used in Majapahit about the middle of the 14th century.

As these later inscriptions cannot be traced at present the texts cannot be given here.

All these inscriptions have been found on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. But about the 4th century A.D. appear also epigraphical remains on the east coast. (Finot, *Bul Com. Arch.* 1910 pp. 152-154).

1. Keddah Inscription

ये धम्मा हेतुप्रभवा तेषां हेतु(ं) तथागतो (ह्यवदत् ?) [।]
तेषा(ं) च यो निरोध एव(ं) वादी महाश्रमण(:) [॥]
अज्ञानाच्चीयते कर्म जन्मन(:) कर्म कारणम् [।]
ज्ञानान्न क्रियते कर्म्मं कर्माभावान्न जायते [॥]

"The Laws which arise out of a cause, Tathagata told about that, and what is their suppression has thus been told by the great Sramana.

Karma (*i.e.* action) accumulates through lack of knowledge. Karma is the cause of (re-birth.) Through knowledge no Karma is effected (and) through absence of Karma (one) is not born (again)."

Of the two verses the former is the well-known Buddhist creed.

2. Inscription from N. Wellesley Province.

This inscription repeats the Keddah inscription with the following addition at the end :

महानाविक(स्य) बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिकावास(स्य ?)...
(दानम् ?):

"[The gift] of Buddhagupta, the great sailor, whose abode was at Raktamrttika.

II. INSCRIPTIONS FROM BORNEO

1. The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman From Kutei (E. Borneo)

In 1879 K. F. Holle drew attention to several inscribed stones existing in the Native State of Kotei (East Borneo).* In 1880 the Sultan of Kutei presented four inscribed stones to the Batavian Society. In the same year Prof. Kern gave a transcript and translation of the inscriptions.

Since then our knowledge of epigraphy has much improved (see especially Buhler—*Indische Palaographie*—Eng. transl. by Dr. Fleet, 1904, Appendix to the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIII). And we also know more of South Indian history, especially the Pallavas.

Mr. Venkayya (in the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-07) points out that the Pallavas derive the origin of their race from Asvatthaman, the son of Drona of the gotra of Bharadvaja. In a genealogy (found in some of the later documents of the Pallavas,) it is said that Asvatthaman had a son, named Pallava, by a divine nymph Madani. Pallava got his name from his bed of पल्लव in the abode of hermits where he was born.

The Tamil poem Manimegalai contains a lgend which relates that the first 'Tondaiman' (*i. e.* Pallava) was the son of a Cola king by a Nagi. This Tamil poem also mentions a town Nagapuram in Savakanadu (Tamil for the island of Java). Two kings of Nagapuram are mentioned—Bhumicandra and Punyaraja who claimed to be descended frem Indra.

Prakrit characters of the first half of the 4th century A. D. acquaint us with King Sivaskandavarman whose dominions included not only Kanchi but also the Telugu country as far north as the Krisna.

For Pallava history in the 5th and 6th centuries we have Sanskrit title-deeds which give the names of several Pallava princes. These are described as Bhagavatas (worshippers of Visnu). The names end with Varman.

For the 7th and first half of the 8th centuries, when the Pallava power rose to its culminating point and then declined, archaeological materials are more abundant. There are numerous inscriptions on stone as well as copper-plate

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* This introduction is a summary of Dr Vogel's article in the *Bijdragen tot-de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsche-Indie*, 1918.

charters. Vikramaditya II (Calukya) gave the death-blow to the Pallava power. It is during the period of Pallava ascendency that we meet with the first epigraphical monuments of Hindu influence in the Archipelago. In the history of the spread of Indian civilisation the Coromandel coast played an important part although the Indian emigrants did not come exclusively from that part of India. That during the 4th to 7th centuries A. D., there must have been a lively intercourse between India, Indo-China and the islands of the Archipelago is evident from the accounts of Chinese pilgrims.

Fa Hian sailed along the coast from Tamralipti to Ceylon and then went to Java—where Brahmans flourish.

In Hiuen Tsang's life, described by two contemporaneous authors, it is stated that Kanchipura, the capital of Dravida, was the sea-port of South-India for Ceylon. Apparently it then held the position now held by Madras. May we not assume that then existed a direct intercourse between Kanchi and the Archipelago? (Kanchi is about 40 miles from the mouth of the Palar river. But Tamralipti, Broach etc. were also inland. Moreover the river Palar has changed its course).

I-tsing describes Srivijaya, Malaya and Kicthcha (Kedah?) Nicobar Islands as halting stations on the way to Tamralipti.

Probably there were other intermediate ports from Srivijaya to Tamralipti. We must remember the pillar inscription of the Buddhist sea-captain Buddhagupta of Raktamrttika in the Wellesley province (near Penang), which may be assigned to 400 A. D. The character is very similar to that of the early inscriptions of Java.

I-tsing has given us short biographies of 60 eminent Chinese pilgrims who had visited India in his days. Chavannes in the introduction to his French translation of that work (*Voyages des pelerins bouddhistes, Memoire compose par I-tsing*, E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894) thinks that there were many more pilgrims of whom we do not know anything, and that the actual number of these pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

If we admit that the study of the Pallava inscriptions of Coromandel is important for the right understanding of the beginnings of Hindu civilisation in the Archipelago, the same may be said with greater justice of the early records of the two ancient kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia. Here too we find Brahmanical civilisation grafted anew on two nations, the Cam and the Khmer. These peoples reshaped that civilisation in accordance with their own national genius, as is evident from those grand monuments which still excite admiration.

It is particularly the ancient kingdom of the Cam which has played an important part in the spread of Hindu

civilisation in the Far-East and which, owing to its situation on the east coast of Further India, formed a natural link between China and Java. The name Cam was bound to remind the emigrants of the ancient city of Champa on the Ganges, and no doubt thus the name of Champa was given to the Cam country.

The oldest epigraphical document of Champa and of the whole of Indo-China—the rock inscription of Vo-Canh (partly illegible)—may be ascribed to the third or perhaps the second century A. D. The existence of a Sanskrit inscription of so early a date in far-off Campa is remarkable.

Then come 3 inscriptions of Bhadravarman (not dated but probably of the 4th century A.D.) which are Saiva in character. The king's title in one of them is Dharmmamaharaja, a title also borne by a Pallava prince (Sivaskandavarman) in the 4th century. Another of these inscriptions gives the site of the sanctuary of Siva Bhadresvara who is invoked in the two other inscriptions.

Stele 111 of 657 A. D. of Mi-son gives the names of princes who must have come after Bhadravarman. These princes trace their origin back to a king Gangaraja. Is there any connection with the Ganga-Pallavas ?

The earliest dated inscription of Cambodia (604 Saka.) is Saiva in character.

Two points deserve special notice with regard to the early epigraphical records of Indo-China: the prevalence of the worship of Siva and the exclusive use of the Saka era (which is decidedly the era of S. India), whereas in Northern India it was the Vikrama (or Malava) era which was preferably used. Here, again, therefore, we have a peculiarity which points to the southern origin of that particular form of Indian civilization which is found in the Far East.

It is certainly astonishing that in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and other Southern dynasties no reference is made to the relations which in those days must have existed between Coromandel and the Far East. The explanation probably is that those relations of which the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims have left such a valuable record, were of a perfectly peaceful nature. We are perhaps justified in concluding that the penetration of Hindu culture in the Far East took place along the peaceful lines of trade and traffic. Fa Hian found Brahmans settled in Ye-po-ti (Yava-dvipa). The merchants on the vessel which brought the pilgrim home from his long voyage were partly at least-he says so explicitly-Brahmans. It was no doubt through the Brahmans in the first place that Brahmanical civilization, together with their religion, their sacred lore, and their ancient language was carried across the eastern ocean.

In the records of Campa on the other hand as well as in those of Java there is likewise a remarkable paucity of direct references to the homeland of that Indo-Aryan civilization, of whose greatness those very records are so eloquent witnesses. Indirect testimonies however are not altogether wanting.

We have seen that Pallava was believed to have been borne by a heavenly nymph (named either Madani or Menaka) to Drona's son Asvatthaman. According to another legend the first Pallava prince had sprung from the union of Asvatthaman and a Nagi, whereas in Tamil poetry it is a Chola King who married the daughter of the Serpent-lord. Now the Sanskrit inscription in Stele III from Mi-son contains a curious passage which accounts for the origin of the kings of Cambodia in the following terms :

"It was there that Kaundinya, the greatest of Brahmans, planted the javelin which he had received from the eminent Brahman—Asvatthâman—the son of Drona. There was a daughter of the Naga king who founded on this earth the race which bore the name of Soma. The great Brahman Kaundinya married her for the accomplishment of the rites." (Finot's translation).

In whatever way we look at it, the Cambodian legend brings us back to the Pallava court. This fact is more worthy of attention as the legend is associated in Indo-China with the name of Kaundinya who can be fairly called the 'Indianiser' of Cambodia.

Another point which may be mentioned here is the nomenclature of Hindu (or rather Hinduised) Rajas in the Far East. M. Bergaigue was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China with the only exception of the Vo-canh rock inscription which is the earliest of all—we meet with royal names ending exclusively in Varman.

"We will not find a single royal name which has not got this termination, which was also exclusively used in Cambodia from the period of the earliest inscriptions, as it has been also in the Archipelago, and above all among several dynasties of South India, Kings of Vengi, Pallavas, Kadambas, from the 5th or even the 4th century."

If we remember that for a long period the Pallavas stood foremost in political importance, may we not assume that their royal house set a fashion which was followed first by their feudatories and neighbours and subsequently also by the Hinduised princes of the Far East.

The Javanese inscriptions do not mention the Pallavas, but Kancipura, the Pallava capital, is mentioned in the old Javanese chronicle Nagarkrtagama. This work was composed by the poet Prapanca in honour of Hayam Wuruk, the

King of Majapahit, in Saka 1287. In the 93rd canto of his poem the chronicler says, no doubt with some exaggeration, that all pandits in other countries composed eulogies in honour of his patron, King Hayam Wuruk. Among them he makes special mention of "the illustrious bhiksu Buddhaditya who lived in Jambudvipa (India) in the town of Kancipura with its six viharas."

Again the Simbiring tribe (belonging to the Karo-Bataks of West Sumatra) is subdivided into five subdivisions—Colia (Cola), Pandiya (Pandya) Meliyala (Malayalam), Depari and Pelawi (Pallava ?). So we can recognize well-known ethnic names from the Dravida country which clearly points to the South-Indian origin of the tribe.

In the Kotei inscriptions (one of the earliest documents of Indian civilization in the Archipelago) we meet with two royal names (Mulavarman the ruling prince and Asvavarman, his father) ending in Varman. The name of the grandfather of the King—Kundunga—has got a 'barbarous' sound. Kern concluded that it was possibly under Kundunga that Indian civilisation had been introduced in Eastern Borneo. Kern seems to imply that Kundunga was a native of Borneo and that the personages to which these inscriptions refer were Hinduised rather than Hindu princes. Krom however points out that the name Kundukara occurs in a Pallava inscription. We find a parallel in Indian history. The Kushan kings have foreign names—Kanishka, Vasiska, Huviska—but after Huviska there comes a king who bears the purely Indo-Aryan name of Vasudeva. This inference agrees with our assumption regarding the peaceful penetration of Hinduism in the Archipelago.

It is a point of considerable interest that the Kotei stones are described in the inscription as Yupa-(sacrificial posts—generally made of wood). In India only three instances of stone Yupas have been found. The earliest was set up by a Brahman near Mathura in the reign of Vasiska and we may assign it to 102 A. D. (It is one of the earliest inscriptions in pure Sanskrit found in India). The stone yupa is an exact copy in stone of the actual sacrificial posts used in ancient India (corresponding to the description of the Satapatha-Brahmana). The second stone Yupa of Bijaigarh (Biana) does not seem to be an imitation of the wooden post in actual use at a sacrifice. It may be dated—372 A. D. There is a third stone Yupa in Mysore. It is not dated. The Kotei Yupas are not copies of the wooden Yupa of the Vedic ritual. They are four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape.

That the Kotei stones do represent sacrificial posts is definitely stated in the inscriptions. This alone would be sufficient to establish the Brahmanical character of

these monuments, for Buddhists reject the animal sacrifice.

Besides, the inscriptions mention that the creation of these Yupas was due to the assembled 'twice-born' priests on whom King Mulavarman had bestowed rich gifts in gold, cattle and land. Here again therefore we meet with those Brahmans who had carried their ancient civilization to Borneo as well as to Java and Sumatra.

The word Vaprakesvara (in inscription C) must be a proper name—the name of a spot sacred to Siva. Krom points out that Vaprakesvara is mentioned in a later Javanese inscription : "Ye gods at Vaprakesvara." The Hindu images which have come to light in various localities of Borneo appear largely to belong to the Saiva pantheon.

Two other objects—a gold Vishnu statuette and a gold tortoise—were found at the same spot—but earlier. The Sultan of Moera Kaman used to wear both these objects round his neck on State occasions.

Moera Kaman in Kotei where these inscriptions come from, must be an ancient site of some importance. There are other sites in Kotei which still await a detailed survey by an archaeologist. In the first place there are the caves of Goenoeng Kombeng which contain a collection of Hindu images—one of which is Ganesa.

We must note the very fine execution of the Yupa inscriptions The letters are large-sized and clearly cut. The lettering of inscription D is defaced. The four inscriptions are all composed in Sanskrit poetry—A in *Arya* the rest in *anustubh.* The verses are arranged on the stone so that each pada occupies a line. Generally in Indian inscriptions the lines are arranged without any reference to the verses. In this respect the Kotei inscriptions are similar to the cave inscription of the Pallava King Mahendravarman I at Mahendravadi.

Although the Kotei inscriptions are extremely simple records—they betray a very fair knowledge of Sanskrit. In this respect they are decidedly superior to the nearly contemporaneous epigraphs of Bhadravaman I of Campa. This bears testimony to a considerable degree of Hindu culture in East Borneo at this period.

The term 'Vengi character' was adopted by Kern to designate the peculiar script from South India which we find employed in the early Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago. Later writers on South Indian epigraphy, however, never use the term. (The Vengi country comprised the tract between the mouths of the Godavari and Kistna rivers). In the 5th century the Vengi country made part of the Pallava empire and remained in Pallava

possession till the beginning of the 7th century (up to the war with Pulakesin).

In the opinion of Vogel it is advisable entirely to discard the term 'Vengi alphabet' from the terminology used by writers on Javanese epigraphy and to substitute for it the expression 'Pallava alphabet'. For, of all ancient scripts of South India it is the character employed in the early records of the Pallava rulers that shows the nearest approach to that of the Kotei and contemporaneous Javanese epigraphs. Dr. Burnell had arrived at the same conclusion—(though he used for the Pallava character the not very appropriate term 'Eastern Chera' as he assumed that this alphabet had been introduced into Tondainadu from the Cera country).

Prof. Bühler applies the term 'Grantha' to the script used in the Sanskrit records of the Pallava dynasty. The Grantha is the peculiar alphabet employed in South India up to modern times for literary works composed in Sanskrit, in contradistinction from the alphabets in which the various Dravidian vernaculars are rendered. What Bühler's use of the word really implies is that that the Grantha, *viz.* the literary alphabet of South India, is derived from the ancient character found in the Pallava records. Bühler recognizes three successive stages in the development of this ancient 'Grantha' which be indicates as the archaic, the middle, and the transitional variety. To the archaic types he reckons all Pallava Sanskrit inscriptions, including those of Narasimhavarman I; but from the Kuram copper-plate charter of Narasimha's son, Paramesvaravarman I, his middle variety commences. He further states that the archaic variety is also met with in the rock inscription from Jambu in Java.

During the earlier period of Pallava rule their documents are restricted to copperplate charters. It is only by the commencement of the 7th century that the first stone inscriptions (according to Vogel) make their appearance. There are therefore no lithic records from Coromandel which may be supposed to be contemporaneous with the Kotei inscriptions. The copper-plates, which serve the purely practical purpose of recording a donation of land, are engraved in a much simpler style of writing than the stone inscriptions which were meant to be public memorials. The Kotei inscriptions are distinguished by their careful workmanship and highly ornamental character.

On the other hand, the absence of stone inscriptions of so early an epoch in Coromandel imparts the Kotei inscriptions a peculiar interest for the history of South Indian epigraphy. It is in the distant lands of the Indian

Archipelago and on the coasts of Indo-China that we thus find the prototypes of that remarkable group of lithic records which Coromandel owes to the Pallava Kings of the 7th century. We may say that the Archipelago and Campa have preserved the earliest examples of archaic Grantha carved in stone.

We shall now examine the chief palaeographical characteristics of the Kotei inscriptions. They are the following:

(1) The heads of the letters are marked by means of small, deeply cut squares which are found at the head of practically every aksara. Bühler notes the same peculiarity with regard to the early script of Central India in its more developed form. He further notes that this 'Box-head' characteristic occurs also in two Kadamba inscriptions of the 5th century and the copper-plate grant of Simhavarman Pallava which has been assigned to the same period. 'Box-heads' are also peculiar to the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campa.

(2) Another feature of the Kotei inscriptions (it is mentioned by Bühler among the characteristics which distinguish the Southern alphabets from those of Northern India) is the little hook attached on the left to the foot of the long verticals.

It is interesting that similar little hooks are found in the Pallava Prakrit grants of the 4th century, whereas in Sinhavarman's characters of the 5th century those excrescences are usually prolonged so as to reach up to almost half the length of the vertical. A still further development is noticeable in the later Pallava inscriptions of the 7th century, which, to use Bühler's terminology, exhibit the middle variety of the lithic grantha alphabet. Here the upward stroke is prolonged up to the top of the aksara so as to form a second vertical (Seven Pagodas).

It is noteworthy that in the Campa inscriptions of Bhadravarman which otherwise betray so close a palaeographical affinity to those of Kotei the long verticals (क, र, ज etc.) show no trace of the little hook. In this respect they represent an earlier stage of writing than the Kotei inscription. In the Carunten and Jambu inscriptions (West Java) we notice a more advanced stage, as here the hooks are prolonged.

(3) In the aksaras ज, प, ष, ल and ह the left-hand stroke bulges outward. Here again the alphabets of South India, Indo-China and the Archipelago exhibit a parallel development (beginning with a notch and ending with the tendency to make the lines wavy).

(4) Another feature of the Kotei inscription is the little hook which we find attached to the right stroke of the

letters य, ष, ग, and प. This feature is peculiar to the alphabet of the Pallava inscriptions and is unknown in other scripts. This hook replaces the usual cross-bar in other scripts.

In the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campa only प is treated in a similar fashion.

(5) One of the most remarkable features of the Kotei inscriptions is the looped form of the 3 letters त, न, ण. The त and न, are so similar in appearance that they could easily be mixed up. In the case of त the loop extends further upwards and the vertical is shortened.

In the Pallava script the न is not provided with a loop, while त is often looped. In the inscription of Bhadravarman of Campa, however, we do find these forms.

In the Carunten rock inscription the three aksaras त, न, ण appear in exactly the same shape as in the Kotei inscriptions.

(6) The absence of the vowel is not expressed by the virama as in the Nagari of North India. In the Kotei inscriptions this vowelless letter (न and म) is about half the size of the ordinary aksara and is written beneath the line.*

Burnell says: "The Java character has the peculiar small m used for a final m, and we find this also in the Vengi and Pallava characters and in them only." But it is found in Gupta inscriptions. In the Bhadravarman inscription of Campa we come across the same practice.

(7) In the Kotei inscriptions we find the medial इ expressed in the ancient fashion by a single superscribed curve to the left, but always open except in the aksara कि when a closed curve is found. This closed curve, which assumes the appearance of a superscribed circle, becomes the regular manner of expressing medial इ in later alphabets. The primitive form is found in the inscription of Bhadravarman and in the Carunten inscription.

In the Kotei inscription medial ई is expressed in the ancient fashion followed in the early Gupta inscription by a double curve over the aksara. In the Bhadravarman inscriptions the ई in श्री is written exactly as in the Kotei inscriptions. In later inscriptions both in Campa-Cambodia and in Java the double curve has become closed so as to assume the appearance of a circle similar to that marking the short इ.

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* The same feature is noticed in the Central Asian manuscripts written in both the Central Asian varieties of Indian scripts commonly known as the 'slanting' and the 'upright' Gupta scripts, as well as the fragments written in Kushana and Gupta characters. N. P. C.

(8) Finally attention may be drawn to the sign for medial ए consisting of a little curve which is attached on the left-hand side to the top of the consonant.

Medial ऐ is expressed by a double ए stroke. In this respect again the Koetei script approaches the Pallava character very closely.

Conclusion :—It is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient Grantha character used by the early Pallava rulers which appears to be most closely allied to the character of the Koetei inscriptions. The Koetei inscriptions are the earliest specimens of the Grantha used in stone records.

We have also noted the very near affinity existing between the Koetei inscriptions and those of Bhadravarman of Champa. In certain respects the inscriptions of Bhadravarman appear to represent a somewhat earlier stage of writing. On the contrary, the Charunten rock insertion of Purnavarman (West Java) exhibits a more advanced style of writing, so that we arrive at the chronological succession: Bhadravarman, Mulavarman, Purnavarman. The intervening period in each case may be roughly estimated at half a century.

Neither in India nor in Indo-China the early records bear any date. As on the basis of palaeographical evidence only an approximate date can be assigned to these documents, it follows that we stand on no very firm ground. Prof, Kern hesitated between the 4th and 5th centuries, and finally proposed 400 A. D. as the approximate date to assign to the Koetei inscription. Vogel accepts this view. Then the Bhadravarman inscription would belong to the middle of the 4th century, a somewhat earlier date than that proposed by M. Finot who has assigned them to approximately 400 A. D. The Charunten inscription then should be attributed to 450 A. D., a conclusion agreeing with that arrived at by Kern.

The facsimiles of the Borneo Inscriptions as published by Mr. Vogel were not available to me, The following readings are based entirely on the plates given by Kern.

A

L. (1) श्रीमद्विराजकीर्त्तेः (2) राज्ञ [श्र] श्रीमूलवर्म्मणः पुण्यम् [।]
(3) शृण्वन्तु विप्रमुख्य(ा)ः (4) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(ा)ः [1][।।]
(5) बहुदानजीवदानम् (6) सकल्पवृक्षं सभूमिदानञ्च [।]
(7 तेषाम्पुण्यगणानाम् (8) यूपोयं स्थापितो विप्रैः [।।][2]

"Let the foremost amongst the Brahmins and whatsoever other pious men (there are) hear of the meritorious deed of King Mulavarman, of illustrious and resplendent fame—(of his) various gifts, gift of animals, together with (the gift

of) a wish-yielding tree and gift of land. For those multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the Brahmins."

1 Though Kern reods भा at the end, it is not visible on the eye-copy in both the places.

2 Metre; आर्य्या.

I am not sure about the meaning of कल्पवृक्ष here. It usually denotes one of the trees heaven which is supposed to grant all desires, or it may also mean a tree of lasting till the end of the कल्प. What appears possible in this connection is that perhaps the king performed a sacrifice in which he granted the desires of all the supplicants and in memory of which a certain tree was planted, The term कल्पतरु stands in the figurative seuse of a very generous person. We also find in popular stories that certain kings became कल्पतरु on certain occasions i. e. they promised to fulfil the wish of everybody. The word must have been used in some such sense here. Kern's suggestion of taking it as a cherry-tree is not correct.

B

L. (1) श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य (2) कुण्डङ्गस्य महात्मनः [।]
(3) पुत्रोश्ववर्म्मो[2] विख्यातः (4) वंशकर्त्ता यथांशुमान् [॥]
(5) तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः (6) त्रयस्त्रय इवाग्नयः [।]
(7) तेषान्त्रयाणाम्प्रवरः (8) तपोबलदमान्वितः [॥]
(9) श्रीमूलवर्म्मा राजेन्द्रो[3] (10) यष्ट्वा[4] बहुसुवर्णकम् [।]
(11) तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपोयम् (12) द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः [॥][5]

"The illustrious Kundanga, the noble lord of men had a famous son Asvavarman, who like unto the sun was the founder of a race. He had three noble sons, resembling the three (sacrificial) fires. The foremost of those three, the illustrious Mulavarman, the lord of princes, endowed with the strength of austerity and self-restraint, having sacrificed a Bahusuvarnaka (sacrifice),—this sacrificial post of that sacrifice has been set up by the best of the twice-born.

1. Kern reads कुन्द. But to me it appears to be कु. In this inscription, the vertical strokes of क, प, र, etc. are not found bent to the left.

2. Read वर्म्मा। Kern reads वर्म्म but र्मो is certain on the plate.

3. Kern reads राजेन्द्र but राजेन्द्रो is clear in the plate.

4. Kern reads यष्टा but यष्ट्वा is clear and certain.

5. Metre-श्लोक.

The three fires referred to are the three well-known sacrificial fires, गार्हपत्य आहवनीय and दक्षिण।

बहुसुवर्णक seems to be the name of a sacrifice, in which, evidently, much gold was distributed. Kern points out बहुहिरण्य as the name of a सोम sacrifice and suggests बहुसुवर्णक as synonymous with the former.

C

L (1) श्रीमतो नृपमुख्यस्य (2) राज्ञ(श्)श्रीमूलवर्म्मणः [।]❀
(3) दानं [1] पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे [2] (4) यद्दत्तं वप्रकेश्वरे [॥]❀
(5) द्विजातिभ्योग्निकल्पेभ्यः [3] (6) विंशतिर्ग्गोसहस्रिकम् [।]❀
(7) तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपोयम् (8) कृतोविप्रैरिहागतं(:)[4]❀

"The gift of twenty thousand kine of the illustrious and foremost of the rulers of men, the king Mulavarman, which was given at the most sacred place of Vaprakesvara to the twice-borns resembling fire—for that meritorious deed this sacrificial post has been erected by Brahmans who had come hither."

1, Kern reads जा(?)त, but the facsimile shows clearly दानम्।

2. Kern reads क्षत्रे but क्षेत्रे is clear on the facsimile.

3. Kern reads कल्पस्य erroneously.

4. No visarga is visible on the facsimile. Metre श्लोक.

D

(1) सगरस्य यथा राज्ञः (2) समुत्पन्नो भगीरथः (।)❀
(3) ....मूलवर्म्म......... [॥]❀

"As Bhagiratha was born of the king Sagara, (so) Mulavarman (was born of the king Asvavarman)."

1. This inscription is not found in Kern's V. G. Vol. VII. The metre is श्लोक and the second line may be reconstructed us :

तथाश्ववर्मणो राज्ञः मूलवर्मा महीपतिः ॥

III INSCRIPTIONS FROM WEST JAVA

It is a remarkable fact that whereas the glorious monuments of Indo-Javanese architecture are found in Central Java, the earliest documents testifying to Indian influence belong to the Western part of the island. They consist of four rock-inscriptions all composed in Sanskrit verse and eulogise a ruler of the name of Purnavarman, who if we may trust palaeographical evidence (for none of the inscriptions is dated, must have flourished about the middle of the fifth century A. D. These four rock-inscriptions are all found within the bonndaries of the province of Batavia. There is a 5th inscription of the same series, mentioned by Krom in Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis at a place called Mocara Jianten, which is as yet undeciphered.

It is significant that these earliest records of Hindu settlement are found exactly in that part of the island where the Dutch traders first established their factories. The geographical position of the Batavian coast with regard to India and the special advantages which its figuration offers to shipping and trade are circumstances which will easily account for a coincidence that is certainly not due to mere chance.

There is no reason to doubt that king Purnavarman mentioned in three of these inscriptions is one and the same person.

Kern assumed (while dealing with the Tugu inscription) that in Purnavarman we have an ancient hero and sage of Indian origin whose worship had been introduced in West Java. But why should Purnavarman be regarded as a legendary personage? His name ending in Varman (like that of Muluvarman, the ruler of East Borneo, whose historical existence has never been doubted) in imitation of the royal nomenclature then in vogue both in India in Further India, suggests a historical person. The Tugu inscription mentions the 22nd year of his reign. It is true that in India the symbol of the foot-print indicates a divine person. But it is nothing but a cenjecture that the foot-prints of Purnavarman (in the Ci-aruton and Jambu inscription rocks, served a similar purpose. In the case of the Kebon Kopi inscribed rock which shows the footprints of Purnavarman's elephant, it is certainly unlikely that they were presented for adoration by the king's subjects. In the inscriptions themselves there is nothing to support Kern's supposition.*

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* In Jaina inscriptions, even in those of a much later date, we find however foot-prints given for the adoration of worshippers.

Nothing is said in the inscriptions regarding the king's ineage. From the circumstance that in the Ci-aruton inscription the king is compared to Visnu it has been somewhat rashly concluded that Puranavarman must have been a Vaisnava. The Tugu inscription however speaks of Purnavarman's gift of a thousand cows to the Brahmans. We may assume therefore that Purnavarman was an adherent of the Brahmanical and not of the Buddhist religion. This agrees with the almost contemporaneous statements of Fa-hien "The law of Buddha is not much kuown here."

In the history of the Sung Dynasty (420-478) there is the following statement: "In 435 (A. D.) the king of the countiy Ja-va-da whose name was Sri Pa-do-a-la-pa-mo, sent an envoy." It has been suggested that the king mentioned here is Sri-pada Purnavarman. (Prof. Lévi however does not accept this identification.)

The few facts these inscriptions give us may be summed up thus: Purnavarman probably lived about the middle of the 5th century A. D. He must have had a fairly long reign, the Tugu inscription being dated in his 22nd regnal year, His capital was Taruma a name which is preserved in the name of the Tarum. (Tarum is a Javanese word meaning 'indigo' which grows in abundance in this region).

In three of the inscriptions in each case the inscription is accompanied by a pair of foot-prints and these symbols constitute the *raison d'etre* of the epigraphs. In two of the inscriptions (Ci-aruton and Jambu) the foot-prints are stated to be those of Purnavarman himself and in the third one (Kebon Kopi) it is the footmarks of the King's elephant which are carved on both sides of the legend.

We can only surmise that Purnavarman must have been a ruler of such renown that it was thought necessary to record in stone certain places which had been hallowed, as it were, by his presence.

The Ci-aruton rock-inscription may possibly mark the spot of the King's cremation. This would account for the curious position of the inscribed stone in the bed of the Ci-aruton torrent. From the wording of the Jambu inscription it appears that it was put up after Purnavarman's death. If we take the text literally it would follow that the foot-prints (of the deceased king) were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies.

It is difficult to explain the meaning of the curious carvings found about the inscription. First of all, we have the two so-called 'spiders' (to follow the usual explanation of these symbols) which are shown in front of the foot-prints and seem to be attached to them by means of a thread.

Kern suggests that they possibly referred to the doctrine of *ahimsa* which prescribes that care should be taken not to tread on any living creature.

Perhaps these are meant for आवर्त्त i.e. tokens of good luck. In two early rock inscriptions of the Kangra valley at the end of the legend we find a स्वस्तिक together with what might be a foot-print.

According to Finot the soul is represented among the Austronesians, in the Archipelago as in Indo-China, in the form of insects and especially of spiders, The feet and the spiders might then represent respectively the physical person and the psychic person (नामरूप) of the king.

Another puzzle is presented by a line of cursive writing which is written over the inscription proper but in a different direction and which cannot be deciphered.

It would seem as if the Jambu inscription was an epitaph incised after the king's death.

In the Kebon Kopi inscription a very large portion of the surface of the rock (on which the inscription is incised.) is taken up by two enormous elephants' foot-prints between which the record has been engraved.

In the Tugu inscription we should note the names of two ruins of north India. The inscription begins by stating that formerly a river of the name of Candrabhaga had been regulated by means of a canal. (The name Candrabhaga may have been applied to the canal itself). Apparently the canal served as an outlet into the ocean. The river (on the canal) flowed by the Puri, but it is not clear whether the work in question had been executed by Purnavarman himself or by his father (गुरु) In another Javanese inscription the deceased king is designated as 'Bhatara Guru'[1]).

In the 22nd year of the reign of Purnavarman himself, that king had a canal dug to which apparently the name of Gomati is applied and which measured 6122 'dhanus' in length. The conclusion is obsure. Who is the grandfather and the royal sage? Probably the grandfather of the king. The last time refers to a दक्षिणा. of a thousand cows to the Brahmans.

Dr. Krom says that there are several inscriptions which relate to engineering operations carried out for the drainage of a river.

In a Kavi (old Javanese) inscription of 932 Saka era from Soerbaya, we hear of a water-course which has been caused to be made by the Bhatara Guru (His Late Majesty) who may have been Er-langga. Another Kavi (old Javanese)

1 Bhatāra guru corresponds to Sanskrit भट्टारकगुरु

inscription of the middle of the 10th century Saka era (Kelagan inscription—See Brandes and] Korm, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden vol. Lx (1913) p. 81, no. XLIV) describes a disastrous floed of the Brantas river which had overtaken the country and caused much damage. In consequence Erlangga caused an embankment to be made at Waringin Sapta (959 Saka era).

Another inscription in the province of Soerbaya dated 856 Saka records the construction of dikes for regulating the course of the river.

Purnavarman's inscriptions bear ample testimony to a high degree of civilisation in West Java during the 5th century A. D.—a civilisation which is strongly marked by Indo-Aryan influence. Those who carved the inscription must have possessed considerable skill and artistic feeling. And the pandits, the authors of the inscription, were well acquainted with the sacred langnage. The inscriptions on the whole, are grammatically correct.

The characters employed in Purnavarman's inscriptions aae almost identical with the script of Mulavarman's inscriptions.

Here too the letters are 'Box headed.'

A palaeographic study of these inscriptions confirms the conclusions arrived at as regards the close affiinity between the script used in these earliest epigraphical records of the Archipelago and the ग्रन्थ alphabet of the Pallava dynasty.

In certain respects the script of Mulavarman's inscription is more archaic than that of Purnavarman's records. If we ascribe the former to 400 A. D., the approximate date of Purnavarman's inscription would be the middle of the 5th century.

Of the following four inscriptions the first three, viz. those of Ci-aruton, Jambu and Kebon Kopi are at close proximity to each other in the hilly country round Buitenzorg, a place of Dutch origin, best known as the residence of the Governor-General. The fourth now preserved in the Batavia Museum, was originally found at Tugu 'near the sea-coast to the east of Tondjong Priok, the port of Batavia.' All the four inscriptions have recently been edited with excellent facsimiles by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (The earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java, 1925) in Publications of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands' India.

1. THE CI-ARUTON ROCK INSCRIPTION.

(SEE VOGEL, P. 22 AND PLATES 28, 29)

This inscription was first brought to notice by the Rev. Brumund in 1868 and edited by Dr. A. B. Cohen in 1875

(Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 3rd Series, Vol. X pp. 163ff.) and reproduced by Kern (in V. G. Vol. VII, 1917, p. 4, note 1 and facsimile).

The inscription proper does not offer any difficulty but a great uncertainty is attached to the decipherment of the curious carving, looking like some highly cursive writing, above the inscription and to the interpretation of the two symbols, the so-called spiders, which are found attached by means of a thread to the heels of Purnavarman's foot-prints. Kern suggested that possibly they referred to the doctrine of अहिंसा of the Jains, forbidding not to tread on any living creature. Dr. Rouffaer thought that the spiders represent 'enemies attached to a thread on which the king has placed his foot.' Dr. D. Van Hinloopen Labberton (Z. D. M. G. Vol. *LXVI*, 1912 pp. 601ff) in his article on the symbolism of spider in Indian Literature, says that the spider denotes, the divine soul.' Mr. B. de Hann explains them as आवर्त्त or turnings of the hair, 'to which people both in India and Indonesia attach a prognostic significance.' This view is endorsed also by Dr. Vogel, though not without some doubt. Finot also takes it as representing the soul. (see also above).

As for the cursive writing Dr. Brandes is said to have read as : Sri ji aroe ? eun vasa, which was translated, by him as 'the blessed lord of the Jiaroe ? eun, and by Dr. Kern as पूर्णवर्म्म-पदम् 'the foot print of Purnavarman,' both of which, as can be seen from the photo, are equally conjectural. Dr. Vogel seems to think, from the difference of script as well as the direction in which the line is placed, that it has no bearing on the inscription under consideration.

Transcript

(1) विक्कान्तस्यावनिपतेः (2) श्रीमतः पूर्णवर्म्मणः [1]

(3) तारुमनगरेन्द्रस्य (4) विष्णोरिव पदद्वयम् ॥—[2]

"Of the valiant lord of the earth the illustrious Purnavarman, the lord of the city of Taruma, (this is) the pair of foot (prints) like unto Visnu's."

1. Vogel reads वर्मणः but the र्म्म is clear on the plate.
2. Metre श्लोक ।

2. THE JAMBU ROCK-INSCRIPTION

(VOGEL P. 25, PLATES 30, 31.)

This inscription was discovered in 1854 by Mr. Jonathan Rigg and first deciphered by Kern in 1875 (V. G. VII. p. 6.)

This inscription is not preserved quite perfectly and here too we find a pair of foot-prints, evidently of the king. as the inscription says, but they are partly broken off. (Also see above.)

Transcript

(1) श्रीमान्दाता [1] कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो यो पुरा [ता]रुमाया[म् [2]]
नाम्ना श्रीपूर्णवर्म्मा प्रचुररिपुशराभेद्यविख्यातवर्म्मा [3] ।
(2) तस्येदम्पादविम्बद्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदक्षम्
भक्तानां यन्न्रिपानाम्भवति [4] सुखकरं शल्यभूतं रिपूनाम् ॥ [5]

"Illustrious, munificent, correct in conduct (was) the unequalled king who in the past (ruled) in Taruma—by name the illustrious Purnavarman, whose armour was famous for being impenetrable by the numerous arrows of his enemies—his is this pair of foot-priuts, always skilled in destroying enemy-cities which is salutary to princes devoted (to him, but) turns like a dart to (his) enemies."

1. In the plate द is clear but in the photo it looks like प. Keru reads पाता.

2. Vogel तारुमायम् ; but या is clear both on the photo and the estampage.

3. Read वर्मा. 4. Read यन्नृपा. 5. Metre स्रग्धरा. कृतज्ञ : I would take in the literal sense कृतं जानाति यः सः i.e. he who knows his duty. Vogel connects प्रचुर with रिपु but I would prefer to take it as an adjective to रिपुशर. It is preferable to take शल्य in the sense of a 'dart' here than 'thorn' as Vogel translated it.

3. THE KEBON KOPI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

(VOGEL P. 27, PLATES, 32, 33.)

This inscription was first brought to public notice by the Rev. Brumund and was first deciphered by Kern in 1885 who also published a revised reading in 1910. (See V. G., Vol. VII. p. 136). The writing on the stone is badly preserved but interest lies in the fact of the rock containing two elephant's foot prints of enormous size, carved on both sides of the inscription.

— — जयविशालस्य तारुमे[न्द्र]स्य ह[स्त]नः [1]
— — [ऐरा]वताभस्य विभातीदम्पदद्वयम् (॥) [2]

"Here shines the pair of foot (prints) of the Airavata-like elephant of the lord of Taruma, great in victory.

1. Kern read महीपाल: but tho correct reading is given by Vogel.

2. Kern first read नित्यम् इदम् पदद्वयम् and then—तस्य द्वयम् विपदद्वयम्. Metre श्लोक.

4. THE TUGU (BEKASIH) ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

(Vogel, p. 32, Plate 27).

This inscription was first edited by Kern in 1885 and again in 1917 (cf. V. G. Vol. VII pp. 129 ff.), with a facsimile of part of the inscription. The verses are all written in श्लोक metre and there is a figure at the beginning which looks like a burning torch. Vogel has shown from the two *tithis* given in the inscription that the months as used in the calendar in those days in Western Java were अमान्त as we find in South-India and not पूर्णिमान्त as prevalent in the North. This may be due to South Indian influence. Vogel also adds that "whereas the Vikrama era is generally associated with the पूर्णिमान्त scheme (except in Gujarat), the Saka era has the अमान्त month, especially in Southern India, which is the real home of that era. It is a well-knewn fact that it was the Saka reckoning which was introduced both in Further India and in the Archipelago."

Transcript

(1) पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा [1] पीनबाहुना
खाता ख्यातां पुरीं( ) [2] प्राप्य (2) चन्द्रभागार्णवं ययौ ॥
प्रवर्द्धमानद्वाविंशद्वत्सरे [3] श्रीगुणौजसा
नरेन्द्रध्वजभूतेन [4] (3) श्रीमता पूर्णवर्म्मणा ॥
प्रारभ्य फाल्गुने [5] मासि खाता कृष्णाष्टमीतिथौ [6]
चैत्रशुक्लत्रयोदश्याम् दिनैस्सिद्धैकविंशकै[:]
(4) आयता षट्सहस्रेण धनुषा[ं] स-शतेन च
द्वाविंशेन नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥
पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्व्विदार्य्य शिबिरावनिम् = [7]
(5) ब्राह्मणैर्ग्गोसहस्रेणा [8] प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणा: [9] (?) ॥

"Formerly, the Candrabhaga, dug by the overlord of kings, the strong-armed father, after having reached the famous city, went to the ocean. In the twenty-second year of his

augmenting (reign), by illustrious Purnavarman, the banner (i. e. topmost) of the kings, shining forth through his prosperous qualities, was dug the charming river Gomati of pure water, in length six thousand, one-hundred and twenty *dhanus*, having commenced it on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phalguna and completed it in twenty-one days, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra. (This river) after having passed through the camping ground of the grandfather, the sage-like king, (now) flows by, along with (?) the Brahmanas, who have been presented with a gift of a thousand kine."

Vogel is doubtful about rendering गुरु by 'father' but गुरुः पिता गुरुर्विप्रो गुरुर्देवपुरोहितः । धूर्व्वहेपि गुरुः प्रोक्तो गुरुः शिष्यादि-कारकः . ॥ गुणौजसा is translated by Vogel as 'who shineth forth by prosperity and virtue.' I have translated it literally as "by the lustre of qualities.' One *dhanus* = 4 *hastas* or 2 yds., so the canal was 6120 *dhanus* or almost 7 miles in length. Evidently the inscription first refers to a canal known as Candrabhaga dug by the father of Purnavarman and then again to another canal Gomati dug by Purnavarman himself.

1. Vogel reads ना but णा is certain.
2. Though Vogel reads अनुस्वार it is not visible on the plate.
3. Read रे
4. Vogel reads भूनेन and corrects it to भूतेन but the second letter may be easily read as त; cf e. g. ता in ll. 2 and 3.
5. Read फाल्गुने
6. Vogel's reading कृष्णास्तमी seems to be an error in printing. The reading ष्ट is quite clear on the plate.
7. म् is not visible to me.
8. Read सहस्रेण
9. Read दक्षिणैः । Vogel reads दक्षिणो. What he reads as the sign of ओ may simply be a sign for विसर्ग; कृतदक्षिणो is however grammatically incorrect.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CENTRAL JAVA

(1) TUK-MAS INSCRIPTION

(*Residency Kedu*)

This is the earliest inscription of Central Java, a description of which first appeared in Not. Bat. Gen., 1888.[1] There is a deep depression and out of a stony wall in various places water springs out. The largest is known as Tuk-mas (Golden spring). The inscription is found on a large detached stone. Besides this inscription there are a great number of symbols (on the same stone). Most of these figures are recognisable—शङ्ख, चक्र, गदा, पद्म. The letters at the beginning and the end are not distinct.

From this inscription, taken together with the symbols, it seems that this water was considered holy. The date cannot be determined exactly, it should be approximately 500 A. D. on palaeographic grounds.

Transcript.[2]

⏑ – – ⏑ शुचि अम्बु (म्बु) रुहानुजाता—
क्वचिच्छिलावालुकानिर्गतेयं : [।]
क्वचित्प्रकीर्णा शुभशीततोया
संप्रसृता – ⏑ –⏑ व गङ्गा [॥]

This (spring ?), sprung from pure white lotuses, in some parts oozing out of stones and sand and in others spreading with clear and cool water—is flowing (? extended) as the Ganga.

Metre, उपेन्द्रवज्रा. The eye-copy given by Kern is not satisfactory. Three letters at the beginning are missing. Above the inscription there is a number of symbols. To the right there are four lotuses and a *vajra*(?) and to the left the *Sankha* (conch shell), *Cakra* and *Gada* (mace.)

Kern reads *sruta* but I find no sign of *u*. If the spring is compared to the Ganges *Samprasrta*, 'extended' would give a better sense than *samprasuta* meaning 'oozing out.')

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[1] See Kern, V. G., VII pp. 201-203.

[2] See Kern, *Ibid.*. p. 204,

(2) INSCRIPTION FROM CANGGAL (KEDU), OF S. E. 654.

The discovery of this inscription (found at Canggal or Janggal in Central Java) was announced at the Royal Academy, Amsterdam, in its session of 10th March 1884.[1] The record is composed of 25 lines of writing and is the earliest dated Sanskrit inscription of Java. The script is closely connected with that found in South Indian inscriptions from the 5th to the 10th centuries. It is more closely related to the Han-Chei inscription of Cambodia belonging to the 6th century. The language is pure Sanskrit though not elegant. The style is artificial and pompous. The inscription is a Saiva document and refers to the consceration of a *linga* in the Saka year 654 by order of the king Sanjaya. It precedes the Kalasan inscription and therefore belongs to a period before the Srivijaya conquest of Central Java. In v. 7 of this inscription we find a description of Java. Kern compares with this the verses referring to Java which are found in the Ramayana *e.g.*

यत्नवन्तो यवद्वीपं सप्तराज्योपशोभितम् ।
सुवर्णरूप्यकद्वीपं सुवर्णाकरमण्डितम् ॥
यवद्वीपमतिक्रम्य शिशिरो नाम पर्वतः ।
दिवं स्पृशति शृङ्गेन देवदानवसेवितः ॥

(Ramayanam, Bombay Edn., IV, 40, 30.)

A temple in Kunjara-Kunja (South India ?) is cited as the model of the present shrine. "There was a miraculous shrine of Siva tending to the salvation of the world and brought over (the image ?) by the family settled in the holy land of Kunjara-Kunja."[2] In the Harivamsa Kunjara is said to be hill on which the auspicious abode of Agastya was situated and very likely this is to be placed in South India.

From the verses which follow we get the following account:—

"In Java, which is a noble island, there was a king of very high birth, who through the use of peaceful methods,

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[1] See Kern, *Ibid.* pp. 117-128.

[2] Krom however, differs from Kern and interprets the verse thus : 'There is a..... miraculous temple of Sambhu for the welfare of the world, as it were, brought over by the family settled in the blessed land of Kuñjara-Kuñja." This according to Krom does not mean that a temple was brought directly from Kuñjara-Kuñja, but that a temple very much like that could be found in Java. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā mentions Kuñjara, the hermitage of Agastya, as lying between Kach and Tāmraparṇī. Krom places it on the border of Travancore and Tinnevelley.

gained renown both far and near. Ruling his subjects lovingly as a father rules his children, he, by name Sanna (probably predecessor of Sanjaya), having overthrown his enemies ruled very long on this earth with justice like Manu.—After swaying the destinies of his royal kingdom, Sanna in course of time entered heavenly bliss and the world was cast down with sorrow. He being dead, he, who rose after him, rich with qualities like Manu, the son of Sannaha the eminent, who is honoured by Pandits as an expert in the subtle meaning of books, distinguished for courage, who like Raghu has conquered various feudatories, was King Sanjaya.

Text

[Metres : Sardulavikridita, Vv. 1, 2, 4-7, 12 ; Sragdhara Vv. 3, 8, 11 ; Vasantatilaka, v. 9 ; Prthvi, v. 10].

1. शाकेन्द्रेऽतिगते[1] श्रुतीन्द्रियरसरङ्गीकृते[2] वत्सरे
वारेन्दौ धवलत्रयोदशितिथौ[3] भद्रोत्तरे कार्त्तिके [।]

2. लग्ने कुम्भमये स्थिरांशविदिते प्रातिष्ठिपत्पर्व्वते
लिङ्गं लक्षणलक्षितं नरपतिश्श्रीसञ्जयश्शान्तये [॥ 1 ॥][4]

3. गङ्गोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गरञ्जितजटामौलीन्दुचूडामणि-
भास्वत्पति[5] विभूतिदेहविकसन्नागेन्द्रहारद्युतिः[6] [।]

4. श्रीमत्स्वाञ्जलिकोशकोमलकरैर्देवैस्तु यस्स्तूयते
स श्रेयो भवतां भवो भवतमस्सूर्य्यो ददात्वद्भुतम्[7] [॥ 2 ॥]

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[1] One would ordinarily expect *Śākebde* or *Śākābde.* Kern connects *Śākendre* with *vatsare* and translates: "when the year of the Saka king had passed." Perhaps *atigate vatsare* is to be taken in the sense of '*expired year*,' cf. also l. 26 of Vieng-sa inscr. below.

[2] Kern corrects as *aṅkīkṛte.* There is a dot after *vatsara* which is most probably a mark of punctuation.

[3] Grammatically *trayodasī* but the metre would require a short syllable here.

[4] Metre of this and the following verses is *Śardūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] Kern reads *Paṃti* but there is no mark of *anusvāra* above *pa* and if so read it will spoil the metre. Moreover the word is *paṃkti* and not *paṃti* as Kern reads it. The reading is clearly *pati.*

[6] Kern puts the *visarga* within brackets but the sign is clearly visible on the plate.

[7] Note that the *virāma* is expressed by a semi-circular stroke above the onsonant.

5. भक्तिप्रह्वैर्मुनीन्द्रैरभिनुतमसकृत् स्वर्गनिर्वाणहेतो-

र्द्दैवैर्लेखर्णभाद्यै रवनतमकुटैश्चुम्बितं च(6)ट्पदाभैः [।]

भ्रङ्गस्थाताम्रपत्रं नथकिरणजलत्केसरारञ्जितान्तं[1]

देयात् शं शाश्वतम्बस्त्रिनयनचर(7)णानिन्दिताम्भोजयुग्म ॥ [3॥]

ऐश्वर्यातिशयोद्भवात्सुमहतामप्यन्न ता[नां]ि[न] धि ।[2]

स्त्यागेकान्तरतस्तनोति (8) सततं यो विस्मयं योगिनाम् [।]

योष्टाभिस्तनुभिर्जगत्कल्यथा पुष्णाति [न स्वार्थ]तो

भूतेशश्शिखण्डभू(9)षितजटस्स त्र्यम्बकः पातु वः ॥ [4॥)

विभ्रद्धेमवपुस्त्वदोषदहनज्वाला इवोद्यज्जटा

वेदस्तम्भधत्र (10)द्रु[3]लोंकसमयो धर्म्मार्थकामोद्भवः [।[[

देवर्व्वन्दितपादपङ्कजयुगो योगीश्वरो योगिनां

मान्यो लोक (11) गुरुर्द्दातु भवतां सिद्धि स्वय(म्भू) र्व्विभुः ॥(5॥]

नागेन्द्रोत्फणरत्नभित्तिपतितां दृष्ट्वात्मविम्बश्रियं[4]

सभ्रू (12) भङ्गकटाक्षया कुपितया [दू] र [ं] श्रिया वीक्षितः ॥

यो योगाख्यलोचनोत्पलदलश्शेतेम्बुशय्यात[5](13)ले

त्राणार्थन्त्रिदशैस्तुतस्स[6] भवतान्देयात् श्रियं श्रीपतिः ॥ [6॥]

आसीद्द्वीपवरं यवाख्यमतुल-[न्धान्या=][7] (15) द्विवीजाधिकं

सम्पन्नं कनकाकरैस्तदमरै- -[दिनो=] पार्ज्जितम् [।]

श्रीमत्कुञ्जरकुञ्जदेशनिहि[तं च-][8] (15) ष्वादितीवाद्भुतं

स्थानन्दिव्यतमं शिवाय जगतश्श-[म्भो] स्तु[9] यत्राद्भुतम् ॥ [7॥]

तस्मिन्द्वीपे यवाख्ये पुरुष [पद=] (16) महालक्ष्मभूते प्रशस्ते

राजोग्रदग्रजन्मा[9] प्रथितपृथुयशास्सामदानेन संम्यक्[10] [।]

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[1] Kern reads *kesara* but a long syllable is required in *ra.*

[2] Kern reads *bhutā(nān-n)idhi.*

[3] Rd. *Subaddha.*

[4] Rd. *bimba.*

[5] Rd. *śetembu.*

[6] Kern reads *tridaśais-stutas.*

[7] Portions within square brackets are not clear on the plate.

[8] Kern reads *nihita* but the last syllable should be long.

[9] The third letter from the beginnfng should be long. Perhaps we have to read रामाग्रयोदग्रजन्मा.

[10] Rd. *samyak.*

शास्ता स[र्व्व प्र-] (17) जानाञ्जनक इव शिशोर्ज्जन्मतोवत्सलत्वा-
त्स्वात्म्यत्स्वतारिम्मनुरिव सुचिरम्पाति धर्म्मेण पृथ्वी [म्][1] (॥8॥)
(18) पृथङ्ते समनुशासति राज्यलक्ष्मीं
सन्नाह्वयेन्वयविधौ समतीतकाले [।]
स्वर्गं [सुख फल-] कृ [लो-] (19) पचितम्प्रयाते
भिन्नञ्जगद्भ्रमति शोकवशादनाथम् ॥ [9॥]
ज्वलज्ज्वलनविद्रवत्कनकगौरवर्णा [ः] ⏑ --
[म-] (20) हद्भुजनितम्बतुङ्गतममूर्द्धशृङ्गोन्नतः [।]
भुवि स्थितकुलाचलक्षितिधरोच्चपादोच्छ्रयः
[प्रभुता ?)[2] (21) गुणसम्पदोऽङ्गवति य स्ततो मेरुवत् ॥ [10॥]
श्रीमानो[3] माननीयो बुधजननिकरैश्शास्त्रसूक्ष्मार्थं [वेदी-]
[रा-] (22) जा शौर्य्यादिगुणयो रघुरिव विजितानेकसा [मन्तच] क्रः [।]
राजा श्रीसञ्जयाख्यो रविरिव य [शसा दि-] (23) ग्विदिक्ख्यातलक्ष्मी-
स्सूनुस्सन्नाहनाम्नस्स्वसुर ⏑ ⏑ -- [न्या] यतश्शास्ति राज्यम् ॥[॥]
यस्मिन्छास [ति साग-] (24) रोर्म्मिरशनां शैलस्तनीम्मेदिनीं
शेते राजपथे [जनो न] चकितश्चोरैर्न[4]चान्यैर्भयैः [।]
कीर्त्त्या [वैधरलम-] (25) जिताश्च[5] सततन्धर्म्मार्थकामा नरैः
नूनं रोदिति रोदितीति स कलिश्चांस्या (?)क्र[6]-[शेषो यतः॥] [12॥]

Translation.

(v. 1) When the years marked by *rasas*, organs and Vedas (*i. e.* 654) in (the era of) the lord of Sakas had elapsed, in the month of Kartika, on Monday, on the thirteenth day of the bright-half, in the Bhadra (*naksatra*), in kumbha *lagna*, which is known as *sthiranga* (with a firm body), the king, the illustrious Sanjaya for (attaining) tranquility, established on the hill, a *linga* with (all) the auspicious marks.

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[1] Reading appears to be *pṛthvi* on the plate.

[2] Kern's suggestion about the reading of *prabhutā* cannot be correct. The metre would require the second syllable to be long and the third should be short,

[3] Rd., *Śrīmān-yo.* cf. Kern p. 120, note 1.

[4] Rd. *rṇa.*

[5] Kern reads-*rjjita.*

[6] Kern reads-*runāsty-aṅśa.*

(V. 2) May Siva, the sun to the darkness of the world, who has for his crest jewel the moon on his matted locks, coloured by the high waves of the Ganges, who has the lustre of the neck-lace in shape of the lord of snakes having on its body the splendour of the lord of luminaries (*i. e.* the sun), who is praised by the gods with the soft palms (of their hands) folded in the form of a vessel—grant you most perfect bliss.

(V. 3) May the two irreproachable lotuses which are the feet of the three-eyed (Siva)—which are repeatedly praised by the lords of sages bending in respect for their salvation in heaven, which are kissed by the gods, such as Indra and others with their bent crowns like the bees (kissing the lotus), which are slighty coloured at the end by the rays (issuing) from the toe-nails which are like the glittering filaments (of a lotus) and in which (feet) the toes are like the slightly copper-coloured leaves (of a lotus)—grant you perpetual welfare.

(V. 4) May the three-eyed (Siva), the Lord of beings—who has his matted locks decorated with the crescent-moon, who is the store-house of great and wonderful (things) being himself the source of an excess of greatness, who being solely given to resignation always causes wonder of the yogins, who nourishes the world through his eight-fold bodies* out of pity and not selfishness—protect you.

(V. 5) May the self-born Lord (Siva) and the teacher of the world—who bears a golden body and the matted locks which are like the fire burning his own defects, who has made the Law of the world fixed in the posts of the Vedas, who is the source of religion, worldly prosperity and desire, who has his lotus-like feet worshipped by the gods, who is the Lord of the yogins and who is honoured by the sages—give you success.

(V. 6) May the lord of Sri (*i e.* Vishnu)—who is regarded from a distance by the angry goddess of wealth (*Sri*) with a frowning look, who lies on the watery bed with his eyes (comparable to) lotus petals red through (abstract) meditation and who is praised by the gods for their protection—grant you prosperity.

(V. 7) There was an excellent island called Yava incomparable (to others), which contained an abundance of

* Siva's eight-fold bodies consist usually of the 5 elements, mind, egotism and Prakṛiti (matter) but accordiug to the opening verse of Kalidāsa's Sakuntalā the last three are the sun the moon and the Yajamāna or the sacrificing priest.

grains such as rice and others, which was possessed of gold mines and which was acquired...by the gods. There was the wonderful and most excellent place (*i.e.* temple) of Siva tending to the welfare of the world, which was supplied as it were from the family settled in the illustrious land of Kunjarakunja.*

(V. 8) In that noble island called Yava which became the great characteristic of . . . of men, there was the foremost of kings of exalted birth whose name was Sanna, who was of great fame and who, out of attachment to his subjects, ruled in a proper way through (the peaceful methods of) conciliation and gift, like a father (ruling) the child from his very birth and who, with his foes subdued, protects the earth for a long time with justice like Manu.

(V. 9) Under these circumstances, while the (king) named Sanna was ruling over the goddess of royalty, he, in course of time, and in the due order, went to enjoy happiness accumulated by his family (?). (Then) the earth, separated (from him), roamed in grief being bereft of her lord.

(V. 10) He, who rose after him, was possessed of mastery and richness in merits and was like the (mount) Meru. He was of colour bright like the molten gold or glaring fire (as the Meru is of white colour) ; he had long arms, big thighs and high and upraised head (as the Meru has big base and middle and high summit); who on this earth has greater position and loftiness than other existing rulers who are like principal mountains (*kulacala*) (as the Meru has a greater position and height than other principal mountains, the bearers of the earth).

(V. 11) The son of (the king) named Sannaha is the king the illustrions Sanjaya—who is respected by the assembly of the learned, who knows the subtle meaning of treatises (*Sastras*), who is possessed of qualities such as valour *etc.*, who like like Raghu, has conqured the circle of many feudatories, who is like the sun in fame and whose splendour is well-known in all the quarters and who . . . .—is now ruling the kingdom with justice.

(V. 12) While he is ruling the earth who has for her girdle the waves of the seas and for her breasts the mountains, people can sleep on the road-side without being frightened by thieves or other fears; men, rich in fame, have always acquired in plenty (the three aims of life) religion, wordly prosperity and objects of desire—certainly the kali (age) is always crying because nothing remains of it †

* I have translateda ccording to the reading suggested by me. N.P.C.
† The idea is that during the rule of this king no crime is committed which should be predominant in the Kali age.

(3) DINAYA INSCRIPTION

(SAKA YEAR 682)

The first mention of this inscription is by Dr. Brandes in the Report of the Archæological Commission (Rapport van de Oudheidkundige Commissie,) 1904, (p. 9). It is the earliest inscription in old Javanese (Kavi) characters. Dr. Brandes supposed that the Kavi script was imported into Java by immigrants from Gujarat as he believed that there was a similarity between the Girnar script and that of the Dinaya inscription. But Professor Krom, in his Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, states that this alleged similarity disappears on closer investigation. The Kavi script, according to Professor Krom, was not introduced from India into Central Java in the 8th century (A. D.)—it was a local and later development of the earlier Pallava script. And Professor Krom is right. All subsequent inscriptions (excluding Srivijaya epigraphy which is in Nagari characters) are in the Kavi script.

The slab of the Dinaya inscription is broken into three fragments. The middle (and the largest) piece was found first and has been discussed in the Tijd. Bat. Gen., 57, 1916. The two remaining fragments were discovered later and are described in the Tijd. Bat. Gen., 64, 1924. So now the inscription is quite complete.

Dinaya is situated to the east of Central Java. It seems that about this period the Hindu princes were being gradually pushed out of Central Java by the Buddhist princes of Srivijaya (in Sumatra).

Several kings are mentioned in this inscription ; Devasimha, the devotee of the god Putikesvara; Limva, his son, also known as Gajayana; King Jananiya, etc.* "King Gajayana, the benefactors of Brahmans, the worshipper of Agastya, with the help of ascetics and his nobles, caused to be constructed the lovely Maharsibhavana, ... When the high-minded king, the lover of renown, had seen the image (of Agastya) made by his ancestors of Devadaru wood, he readily gave a sculptor the order and, (being) farsighted, caused to be made a wonderful image of black stone." This image of Agastya Kumbhayoni was consecrated in the Saka year 682 (760 A. D.).

The sage Agastya is referred to again in the inscription of

* For another possible interpretation see Translation v. 3, note 2 below—N. P. C.

Pareng in Central Java (785, Saka) which is partly in Sanskrit verse and partly in Kavi prose. "As long as the sun and the moon are in heaven; as long as the earth is encircled by the four oceans; as long as the ten directions are full of air—so long there is faith towards *Valaing.*" Valaing is the Polynesian name of the star Canopus (Agastya).

In the same inscription there is a passage which seems to refer to Agastya as having built a temple named Bhadraloka (in Java?) and the concluding lines of the Pareng inscription shower blessings on the descendants of Agastya (living in Java?).

So there was an Agastya cult in Java in the 7th and 8th centuries. Dr. Bosch points out that in Champa, Kambuja as well as in Java we find a tradition tracing a close connection between a Siva-linga, a famous Brahman and the ruling dynasty. In Kambuja it is king Jayavarman II and the Brahman Hiranyadaman whom we find introducing the cult of Devaraja (Siva). In Champa the traditional ancestor of the royal dynasty, Uroja, is also the introducer of the Siva linga cult. In Java we have the tradition of Agastya. Dr. Bosch thinks that there is a common origin for all this in the Devadaru Mahatmya in the Skanda Purana.

TEXT

[Metres; Anushubh, V. 1-3 ; Vasantatilaka, V. 3-5, 8, 9; Sragdhara, V. 6, 7]

(1) स्वस्ति शकवर्षातीत[1] ६८२

(2) आसीत् नरपतिः धीमान्[2] देवसिंहः प्र-(3)तापवान् [।]

येन गुप्त[3] परीभाति पूतिकेश्व-(4) रपाविता ॥ [1॥]

लिम्वः अपि तनयः तस्य[4] गजयानः (5) इति स्मृतः [।]

ररक्ष स्वर्गते ताते छत्राम् पुण्यान् मह[5] (6) ॥ [2॥]

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[1] Rd.-तीतः or-तीते.

[2] Rd. आसीन्नरपतिर्धीमान्.

[3] Rd. गुप्तः···पावितः or गुप्ता···पाविता. In परीभाति the second syllable is lengthened *metri causa.*

[4] Rd. लिम्वोऽपितनयस्तस्य.

[5] Perhaps we have to read छत्राम्बोपुण्यान्महान्. The reading of Bosch must be wrong as it goes aganist the metre.

लिम्बस्य दुहिता जज्ञे प्रद्पुत्रस्य भूपतेः [।]
उत्तेज-(7)ना इति[1] महिषी जननी यस्य धीमतः ॥ [3॥]
आ-ननः (?) कलश-(8)जे भगवति अगस्त्ये[2]
भक्तः[3] द्विजातिहितकृद्‌ गजयानना[मा] [।]
(9) मौलैः सनायकगणैः समकारयत् तद्‌
रम्यम् मह-(10)र्षिभवनम् वलहाजिरिभ्यः ॥ [4॥]
पूर्वैः कृताम् तु सुरदारुमयी[ं] (॥) समीक्ष्य
कीर्त्तिप्रियः तत[4]गतप्रतिमां मनस्वी[5] [।]
आज्ञा-(12)प्य शिल्पिनमरम् सः[6] च दीर्घदर्शी[7]
कृष्णाद्भुतोपलम-(13)यीम् नृपतिः चकार[8] ॥ [5॥]
राज्ञागस्तः शकाब्दे नयनवसु-(14) रसे मार्गशीर्षे च मासे
आर्द्रस्थे शुक्रवारे प्रतिप-(15)ददिवसे[9] पक्षसन्धौ ध्रुवे-[10] [।]
ऋत्विग्भिः वेदविद्भिः यतिवर[11]-(16) सहितैः स्थापकाद्यैः समौमैः[12]
कर्मज्ञैः कुम्भलग्ने सुदृढ़-17)मतिमता स्थापितः कुम्भयोनिः ॥ [6॥]
क्षेत्रम् गावः सुपुष्पाः महिष-(18) गणायुताः दासदासीपुरोगाः[13]
दत्ता राज्ञा महर्षिप्रवरचरुह-(19) विस्स्नानसम्वर्धनादि [।]

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1 Rd. भूपतेरुत्तेजनेति.

2 Rd. भगवत्यगस्त्ये.

3 Rd. भक्तो.

4 Rd. कीर्त्तिप्रियस्तत.

5 Bosch reads मनस्वि

6 Rd. स.

7 Bosch reads अदीर्घ which would convey the wrong meaning. The first letter is to be read us च and not अ

8 Rd. नृपतिश्चकार.

9 Grammatically प्रतिपद्दिवसे but here प्रतिपद is required for the. sake of metre.

10 Bosch suggests Dhruveśe but I am not sure of its meaning. Have we to read *dhruve cha*?

11 Rd. ऋत्विग्भिर्वेदविद्भिर्यति.

12 Perhaps समौलैः cf. l. 9. Bosch suggests समौनैः.

13 Rd. पुष्पा,-युता and -पुरोगा. Bosch reads दासि.

व्यापारायम् द्विजानाम् भवनमपि गृहमु(20)त्तरम् च कम् तम् च[1]
विश्रम्भाय अतिथीनाम्[2] ययवि(21) कपटशा[3]च्छादने सम्प्रयुक्तम् ॥[7॥]
ये बान्धवाः नृपसुताः च (22) समन्त्रिमुख्याः
वृत्तौ नृपस्य यदि ते प्रतिकूलचित्ताः [।]
नास्ति-(23)क्यदोषकुटिलाः नरके पतेयुः
न अमूत्र[4] च नेह च गतिम् (24) ⏑ ˈ ी[5] लभन्ते ॥ [8॥]
वंश्याः नृपस्य रुचिताः यदि दत्तिबुद्धौ
आस्तिक्य-(25) शुद्धमतयः ⏑ ⏑-⏑ पूजाः ।
दानाद्य[6]पुण्ययजनाद्ध्ययनादिशीलाः
(25) रक्षन्तु राज्यम् [अखिलं] नृपतिः यथा एवम्[7] ॥ [9॥]

Translation

Hail! (In) the Saka year 682 having elapsed.

(v. 1) There was the wise and mighty king Devasimha, protected by whom shines all ronnd (the shrine) purified by Putikesvara.[8]

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[1] Rd. गृहमुत्तरञ्चाज्ञ्.तञ्च. Bosch is doubtful about the reading गृहमुत्तर. Metre requries a long syllable in ह. I would prefer to read गृहादुत्तर-.

[2] Bosch reads अतिथिनाम् [3]Bosch reads शय्य and corrects it as शाय but the reading शय्या is certain.

[4] In this verse rd. बान्धवा नृपसुताश्च, -मुख्या,-चित्ता,-कुटिला and पतेयुर्नामूत्र.

[5] Perhaps we have to read परां लभेरन् or लभन्ताम् The second sylable in गतिं should be short,

[6] Rd. दानादि.

[7] In verse 9 read वंश्या, रुचिता, दानादिपुण्य-, शीला and राज्यमखिलं नृपतिर्यथैवम्. Bosch wrongly reads रुचिता for रुचिता.

[8] The meaning of the last quarter of the verse is uncertain. The word *Iśvara* at the end shows that an image of Siva might have been intended here. The reading Putakeśvara would give us some sense, but neither this nor Pūtikeśvara is found amongst the 1008 names of Mahādeva mentioned in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata or elsewhere. A probable explanation of Pūtikeśvara may however be found in the following: Pūti in Sanskrit besides meaning a putrid smell may also denote a *devadāru* tree. It is quite likely that the image was called Pūtikeśvara because of its being originally made of *devadāru* wood

(v. 2) His son, the great Limva, known as Gajayana, also protected (the people as if they were his own sons), when his father had gone to heaven.

(v. 3) Limva had a daughter born unto him who was the consort of the wise king Jananiya (?), the son of Prada and was known by the name of Uttejana.[1]

(v. 4) That one of the name of Gajajana, who was devoted and did good to the twice-born (Brahmans), who was (?)...... to Lord Agastya, born of a pitcher (*Kalasa*)—had with (the help of) his ministers and leaders of army (?) caused to be built the charming abode (*i. e.* temple) of the sage .....[2]

(v. 5) The high-minded and foresighted (king), the lover of fame, having seen the established image, founded by his ancestors, to be made of *devadaru* wood, ordered the sculptor and had a wonderful image of black marble prepared.[3]

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as we find in verse 5. I am not sure of the meaning of *pāvitā* either. Grammar would not allow its being connected with *guptaḥ*. Mr. Bosch thus translates the second half of the verse, "Under whose protection the flame of Pūtikeśvara diffused its light all arouud." But *pāvitā* in the sense of 'flame' is not found in Sanskrit. It appears to be derived from the root *pū* 'to purify' and has been used in a causative sense. Thus *pavitā* seems to me to be an error for *pāvitaḥ*. In that case *Pūtikeśvara pāvitaḥ* could refer to a place which is purified by Pūtikeśvara and most probably to the shrine which contained the image of Pūtikeśvara.

[1] This verse may also be translated thus: Limva had a daughter born unto him; the mother of the wise (king *i. e.* Limva) was Uttejanā, the chief queen of the king (*i. e.* Devasiṃha), the son of Prada. But the difficulty of this explanation is, that the inscription opens with the Devasiṃha and not with Prada, which according to this interpretation would be the name of the father of Devasiṃha.

[2] Bosch connects *bhaktaḥ* with *Agastye* and translates as 'devoted to Agastya.' But it appears that the word at the begining of the verse, the reading of which is not certain, is to be connected with the locative in the first *pāda*. moreover Bosch reads *maunaiḥ* and thinks that it has been used by the poet for *munibhiḥ* or *maunibhiḥ*. But the reading is *maulaiḥ*. *Maula* is used in the sense of hereditary servants or ministers of the king (मूलादागतं मौलम्). *Nāyaka* I have taken in the sense of *Senāpati*. I can not explain the wood *Balahājiri*, It may be a Javanese word and I do not know if it has any connection with Balayin, which is the Javanese name for Agastya.

[3] Bosch is not certain of the reading of *talagata* which he has taken in the sense of 'crumbling.' Thus according to him the King had the image of stone made when he found that the wooden image was crumbling to pieces. But the root *tal* is found in the sense of 'foundation' or establishment of some sacred object. Again, Bosch takes *araṃ* in the sense of 'forthwith.' I have preferred to connect it with *cakāra*. *Araṃ-kṛ* is used in sanskrit in the sense of 'to prepare.'

(v. 6) In the Saka year 682, in the month of Margasirsha, on Friday, in Ardra (*naksatra*), on the first day of the of the bright fortnight, at the juncture of the (two) Pakshas (fortnights), in the Dhruva (*yoga*) and in Kumbha *lagna* was established by the king, of firm intellect, (the image of) Agastya, whose source was a pitcher, with (the assistance of) the officiating priests, versed in the Vedas, together with the best of ascetics, architects, ministers and experts.

(V. 7) Land, cows decorated with flowers, together with herds of buffalœs and preceded by male and female servants—(all these) were given by the king to provide for objects like *caru* (oblation of boiled rice), *havis* (oblation of melted butter), ablutions and others, as well as a house for the twice-born and further, a wonderful abode for the accomoda-tion of guests, well furnished with beds (*i. e.* mattresses) made of barley straw and together with other paraphernalia (literally, covers).[1]

(V. 8) The (future) relations and sons of kings, together with their chief ministers, if they shall be opposed to this gift of the king, may these, perverted by the sin of non-believing, fall into hell and neither in this world nor in the next may they attain the best course.

(V. 9) In case the descendants of the king are inclined to the angmentation of the gift, may they with their intellect purified by faith .... and accustomed to meritorious deeds like (making) gifts, (performance of) sacrifices and study (of the sacred taxts)—protect the whole kingdom in the same way as the (present) king.

(4) THE INSCRIPTION OF VIENG SA

(Saka Year 697)

This inscription does not belong to Java but as it deals with the Srivijaya kings (of Sumatra), who were at this time ruling in Central Java, we have included it in our collection. Vieng-Sa is in the Malay Penisula south of the Bay of Bandon. M. Finot first gave an account of it in the Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-chine (1910, p. 153). But he was not quite clear about Srivijaya. In the Bulletin d'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, 1918 (no. 6), M. Cœdes pointed out for the first time that Srivijaya was the name of a powerful maritime kingdom in south-east Sumatra (the place is now called Palembang). In

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1 Bosv translates *Yavayavika etc.*, as 'thatched with straw of barley.'

the 2nd half of the 8th century A. D. the kings of the Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya ruled not only over the greater part of Sumatra but also in Central Java, portions of the Malay Peninsula, and in numerous islands of the Archipelago. There is a tradition (mentioned by Arab travellers) of their over-running Cambodia. They maintained friendly relations with the Pala kings of Bengal and with the Chola kings of South India. As the rulers of Srivijaya were devout Mahayanists, they constructed a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda with the permission of Devapala of Bengal and a Buddhist temple at Negapatan with the consent of Rajaraja Chola. Later on there was war between the two maritime powers Chola and Srivijaya.*

The inscription of Vieng Sa is fully dealt with in the B. E. F. E. O., 1918, by M. Cœdes.

TEXT

[Metres: Sikhariṇī, vv. 1, 2; Hariṇī, v. 3; Pushpitgārā, v. 4; Upendravajra, v. 5; Āryā, vv, 8, 9; Sragdharā, v. 10.]

A

(1) विस्तारिण्या कीर्त्या नयविनयशौर्यश्रुतशम-

क्षमा-(2) धैर्यत्यागद्युतिमतिदयाद्यक्षयभुवा [।]

परं यस्या-(3)क्रान्ता भुवनकुभुजां कीर्तिविसरा

मयूखास्ताराणां शरदि (4) तुहिनांशोरिव रा[1]चा ॥ [1॥]

गुणानामाधारस्तुहिनगिरि-(5) कूटाधिकरुचा

गुणाढ्यानां पुंसामपि जगति यस्तुङ्ग-(6) यशसाम् [।]

मणीनाम् भूरीणां दुरितभिदुदन्वानिव महा-

(7) मणिज्यातिस्स्रंखावलयशिरसाञ्चापि फणीनाम् ॥ [2॥]

(8) घनविकलतावह्निज्वालावलिक्षपिताशया

यम-(9)भिपतिता ये ते स्वामयम् परं समुपागताः [।]

हृदमि-(10)व गजा नित्यातोष्यप्रसन्नशुभाम्भसं[2]

सवितरि स-(11) पत्यग्रे सेव्यं[3] सरोजरजोत्थम् ॥ [3॥]

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* See below nos. 7*a* and 7*b*.

1 Read. रुचा. Evidently रा has been written instead of रु due to the fault of the engraver.

2 Coedes reads; *nityā ko—v-panna*. But the third letter looks more like *to* than *ko* and the next letter is certainly *shya* (cf. *sh* of *shma* in B. l. 3). The fifth letter is not certain, but it must be a short syllable and I have suggested *pra*. The sixth letter may either be *pa* or *sa* with the hook missing. I have preferred to read *prasanna* as it would give a better sense than *prapanna*.

3 Coedes reads *sevyum*, but *sevyam* is certain.

गुणभृतमुप-(12) गम्य यं गुणाढ्या
◡◡ ◡◡ शा मनुना समं समन्तात् [।]
(13) मधुमयमिवाब्जकेसराद्याद्यु-
श्रियमधिकान्दधते म-(4)हीलेन्द्राः ॥ [4॥]
जयत्ययं श्रीविजयेन्द्रराजा[1]
(15) समन्तराजार्चितशासनश्रीः[2] [।]
प्रशस्तधर्मस्थिरतोन्मुखेन
(16) विनिर्मितो विश्वसृजेव यत्नात् ॥ [5॥]
श्रीविजयेश्वरभूपति-(17) रेमगुणो
घनक्षितितलसर्वसमन्तनृपोत्तम एकः [।]
(18) स्थापित ऐष्टिकोहवरत्रयमेत-
त्कजकरमारनि-(19) सूदनवज्रिनिवासम् ॥ [6॥]
स्वन्न (?)तमेतत्रिसमयचैत्यनिकेत-
न्द्यदिगवस्थितसर्वजिनोत्तमदत्तम् [।]
सर्वजगत्मलभू-(21) घरकुलिशवर-
न्त्रिभवविभूतिविशेषपदममरपदम् ॥ [7॥]
(22) पुनरपि जयन्तनामा राजस्थविरो नृपेन छनियुक्तः [।]
स्तू-(23) पत्रयमसि[3] कुर्वित्यतस्स तदिदन्तथा कृतवान् ॥ [८॥]
स्वर्गरते-(24) स्मिंस्तच्छिष्योधिमुक्तिरभूच्च नामत स्थविरः [।]
इष्टिकचै-(25) त्यद्वितयं चैत्यत्रितयान्तिके कृतवान् ॥ [9॥]
वृत्तया-(26)प्ते शाकराजे मुनिनवरसकैर्माधवैकादशाहे
शुक्ले को-(27 लीरलग्ने[4] भृगुसुतसहिते चार्यमज्ज्योतिरायें[5] [।]
देवे-(28)न्द्राभेन च श्रीविजयनृपतिनान्यक्षितीशोत्तमेन
श्री-(29) लोक्यैकाग्रयचिन्तामणिवपुष इ[ह स्था-]पिता स्तूप- ॥10॥

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1 Rd. राजः

2 Coedes reads—tigmāśanaśrīh but that would make *ti* long and the metre would be faulty. I however, find no sign of medial *i* in *t* and what is read as *gma* is *śa* partially obliterated (cf. *śā* in *śāka*, l. 26).

3 Perhaps we have to read त्रयमपि

4 Rd. कौलीर

5 Should we read ज्योतिषा-?

TRANSLATION

(v. 1) By the splendour of whose spreading fame, which is the imperishable abode of (qualities like) policy, decipline, valour, learning, tranquility, forbearance, patience, liberality, beauty, intelligence, mercy, *etc.*, has been highly surpassed the rays given out by the fame of the rulers of the earth as the rays of moon surpass in splendour those of the stars.

(v. 2) Who by his splendour surpassing the summit of the snowy mountains (*i. e.* the Himalayas) is in this world the receptacle of (all the good) qualities of men with high fame and rich in virtues, who wards off evil (like) many gems, who is great like the sea and who is the gem of snakes whose heads are encircled with a lustrous glow.

(v. 3) Those who take resort to him with their hopes destroyed by the flames of the fire of disaster (lit. loss of wealth) find in him the best property (also lord). As the elephants coming to a lake always (full of) pleasant, clear and good water, reddish with pollens of lotuses find it congenial while the sun is shining on (them).

(v. 4) Coming into contract with him, who bears all the (good) qualities and is like Manu, men rich in virtues...shine with a greater lustre as the lords of trees like the mango, Bakula and others look more beautiful coming into contact with the spring season.

(v. 5) Victory be to this king of Srivijaya, the glory of whose rule is worshipped by the neighbouring rulers, and who has been created by the creator of the universe as if intent on making firm the best of religions.

(v. 6) The king, the lord of Srivijaya, who has virtues fit to be acquired (by others) and who alone is the best of all the neighbouring kings, who exist on the face of this firm earth, built with brick this group of three excellent houses which are the abode of the wielder of thunderbolt, (*vajra*), the conqueror of Mara and the producer of joy.[1]

(v. 7) This wonderful chaitya house belonging to the three ages (?)[2], which was given to all the excellent Jinas dwelling in the ten quarters, is the best thunderbolt (for cleaving) the mountain of sin of the whole world, is the giver of the most excellent splendour of the three worlds and is the place (giving) immortality.

(v. 8) And again, Jayanta the *sthavira* of the King (was) well appointed by the ruler of men (saying) 'construct (ye)

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[1] The Vajrapani Bodhisattva is supposed to be the wielder of the thunderbolt but here the reference seems to be to the Buddha himself. *Kajakara* I have taken in the sense of 'producing joy.'

[2] I am not certain about the meaning of त्रिसमय.

also three *stupas*'—Thus (following the order) he did the same.

(v. 9) When he went to heaven, his pupil Adhimukti by name, became the *sthavira*. He built two *chaityas* of brick in the vicinity of the three *chaityas*, (already built).

(v. 10) When the king of the Sakas had grown to 697 years, on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, in *karkata lagna* on an auspicious Friday, by the lord of Srivijaya, who is the best of all the kings, who is like the lord of devas (*i.e.* Indra) and who has the glory of the sun—was established the . . .*stupas* of (one) who has the body (made of) the wish-giving stone—the best in the three worlds.

(5) KALASAN INSCRIPTION OF THE SAKA YEAR 700.

The following inscription, found in a temple in Central Java, is the earliest Javanese Inscription written in a North-Indian Script. It was published by Dr. Brandes (without plate) in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en-Volkenkunde, Deel XXXI (1886) pp. 245 ff. and by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *JBBRAS* 1889 pp. 1 ff. Dr. Bhandarkar made use of a photograph copy sent to him from Batavia by Mr. Baum Garten.

The record opens with salutations to the Buddhist goddess Tara. Then we are told that the शैलेन्द्रराजगुरु caused a splendid temple of Tara to be constructed in the flourishing kingdom of the king of the Sailendra dynasty. The temple was built out of respect for the *guru* after 700 years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahayana school were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha who were the *desadhyakshys* oar local governors.

Bhandarkar however, mistook Sailendra as the name of a king. Now we know that there was a Sailendra dynasty which originally belonged to the Srivijaya kingdom of Sumatra but about this period they had also conquered Central Java.

According to Bhandarkar the characters of this inscription resemble those of the North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the 8th and 11th centuries ; while the execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosravan, near the old city of Nalanda in Magadha which can be relegated to the middle of the 9th century. "The Hindu

settlements of Java" continues Dr. Bhandarkar, "were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India. Fa-Hian tells us that in Yavadvipa Brahmans flourished but the Law of Buddha is not known. The Buddhists referred to in our inscription must have emigrated in large numbers later on. . . . . . The "Yavadvipa adorned with the seven kingdoms" and Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) have been mentioned in the Kiskindhya kanda of the Ramayana ; and in the Kathasaritsagara Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarnadvipa and other islands of the name of Narikela, Karpura and Kataha (Kedu, near Penang). The Kathasaritsagara is professedly a translation of or a compilation based on Gunadhya's Brihatkatha which has not yet been recovered and which must have been composed in the first or second centnry A. D. Thus the connection of India with these islands must have begun very early."

The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they call Adisaka—the founder of the Saka era which is used in Java. Dr. Bhandarkar thought that this tradition means that some princes of the Saka race (which had established itself in Western India about the beginning of the Saka era and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and inscriptions of the Satraps of Ujjayini and Kathiawar) established the first Indian colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. Contemporary evidence from the early Javanese inscriptions do not, however, bear out this theory. The early colonists must have come from South India. Later on, as in this inscription, Magadha influence seems to have been predominant. This North-Indian influence is to be specially noticed in the Mahayana. inscriptions of Srivijaya rulers in Java as well as in Sumatra Indeed the first appearance of Mahayana doctrines in the Archipelago and the use of a North-Indian script go hand in hand. Both appear to have come from the Palas of Bengal and Magadha. (*vide* Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by Dr. B. R. Chatterji pp. 253 ff.).

TEXT.[1]

[Metres ; Vasantatilaka, v. 1 : Udgīti, y. 2 ; Ārya, Vv. 3-8, 12 ; Salinī, v. 10 ; and Upendravajra, v. 11.]

(1) नमो भगवत्यै आर्य्यताराय ॥

या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाब्धिमग्नं लोकं विलोक्य विधिवत्त्रिविधैरु (2) पायैः ।

सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिस[ा]रं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ [1॥]

1. As no facsimile of this inscription has been published I have mostly followed Bhandarkar's reading of the text.

आवर्ज्य महाराजं (3) पणं[1] पणंकरणं ।
शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ [2॥]
गुर्वाज्ञया कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी (4) कृतापि तद्भवनम् ।
विनयमहायानविदां भवनं चाप्यार्य्यभिक्षूणाम् ॥ [3॥]
पङ्कुरतवानतीरिष[2](5) नामभिरादेशशस्तिभी राज्ञः ।
ताराभवन कारितमिदमपि चाप्यार्य्यभिक्षूणां ॥ [4॥]
राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा (6) ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकस्य[3]
शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ [5॥]
शकनृपकालातीतै (7) वर्षशतैः सप्तभिर्म्महाराजः ।
अकरोद्गुरुपूजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ [6॥]
ग्रामः कालसना[4]मा(8)दत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा ।
पङ्कुरतवानतीरिषदेशाध्यक्षान्महापुरुषान् ॥ [7॥]
भूद(9)क्षिणेयमतुला दत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन ।
शैलेन्द्रवमभूपैरनुपरिपाल्यार्यसन्तत्या ॥ [8॥]
(10)सुक्ष[5]पङ्कुरादिभिः भक्त[6]वानकादिभिः ।
सुक्षसोरिषादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधुभिः ॥ [9॥]

अपिच ॥

(11) सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः ।
सामान्योयन्धर्मसेतुर्न (12) राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [10॥]
अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थविभागवि(वि) (13) ज्ञाः ।
भवन्तु सर्वे त्रिभवोपपन्ना जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ [11॥]
करि(ल ?)यानपणंकरणं श्री (14) मानभियाचते भाविनृपान् ।
भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति । [। 12॥]

1. Brandes reads (पञ्च) पणं
2. These are Javanese names.
3. Bhandarkar reads शैलेन्द्रवंशतनुजस्य
4. Bhandarkar reads कोलग(स?)
5. Brandes reads सत्व. Bhandarkar is wrong in connecting it with Skt. *Sat.* It is equivalent to the old Javanese title *sang.*
6. Perhaps we have to read सम्तवान.
7. Brandes reads पत्तिभि.

TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the divine and venerable Tara.

(V. 1.) May Tara, the only saviour of the Universe, who, seeing the world sunk in the sea of existence full of immeasurable misery, duly delivers it through the three means[1], grant you the desire consisting of the essence of the glory of the worlds of men and the Lord of the gods.

(V. 2) Having prevailed over the *Maharaja* Panamkarana,[2] the . . . ., a splendid temple of Tara was caused to be built by the preceptor of the Sailendra kings.[3]

(V. 3) At the command of the *guru* by the grateful ones was made (an image of) the goddess Tara as well as a temple for her and also a dwelling place (*i.e.* monastey) for the venerable *bhikshus*, knowing the great vehicle of discipline.

(V. 4) By the king's mandate (?) issued in the names of Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha, the temple of Tara as well as the house for the venerable *bhikshus* were caused to be built.

(V. 5) In the prosperous reign of the king, the best (tilaka) of the Sailendra dynasty,[4] the temple of Tara was constructed by the pious *guru* of the Sailendra kings.

(V. 6) When seven centuries in the era of the Saka king had elapsed the *Maharaja* Panamkarana built the temple of Tara in honour of his *guru*.

(V. 7) He also granted to the community the village Kalasana by name after making the eminent Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha, the heads of the province, as the witnesses.[5]

(V. 8-9) By the lion of kings was also granted to the community, an incomparable gift of land which should be protected by future noble kings of the Sailendra dynasty and also by the noble heroic *sang* Pankura, *sang* Tavana and *sang* Tirisha.

(V. 10) The lion among kings begs again and again of all the future kings that this bridge of religion, which is common to all men, should be protected by you at all times-

(V. 11) Through the merit resulting from (the construc. tion of) this monastery, may all people following the Law of the Jine (*i.e.* Buddha) have a knowledge of the division and

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1. The three *upayas* mentioned in the *Dharmasangraha* CXI (Ancedota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I-Pt.v) are: सर्वसत्त्वावबोधकः, सत्त्वार्थाभावकः and क्षिप्रज्ञाभिसंबोधि.

2. Brandes takes *Panamkarana* as an epithet of the king *viz.* 'one who has taken a vow.'

3. Bhandarkar wrongly took Sailendra to be the name of the king,

4. Bhandarkar translates 'the son of Sailendravarman'.

5. "The eminent men and leaders of the country"—Bhandarkar.

meaning of the causal chain of causation[1] and be endowed with prosperity.

(V. 12) The illustrions Kariẏana[2] Panamkarana here begs again and again of future kings for the preservation of the monastery in a proper way.

(6) THE MINTO-STONE INSCRIPTON OF THE SAKA YEAR 876.[3]

The following couplet in Sanskrit forms the opening verse of the Kavi inscription on the Minto stone which was found in Java-Pasuruhan. It is so called because it was sent by Raffles, who was the governor of Java, during the temporary British possesion of that island, as a present to Lord Minto in Scotland. This record is a royal order to the village Sangguram which was to be fenced off into a rent free holding for the Bhatara (i e High priest) of the Kabhaktyan temple.

It is the most important inscription which we have got of King Vává of Central and East Java. In this inscription Mpu Sindok, the successor of Vává, is mentioned as *Mahapati* (minister ?). With King Vává the history of Central Java comes to an end.

TEXT.

····शिवमस्तु सर्व्वजगतः परहितरतः[4] भवान्तु[5] भूत ··ग: [।]

दोषप्रयासनाशात्सर्व्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः [॥][6]

(I) अविघ्नमस्तु ॥ शिवमस्तु सवजगतः परहितरता भवन्तु (2) भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयान्तु नाश [ं] (॥) सर्व्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः ॥

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1. The reference here is to the प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद or the doctrine of cause and effect of the Buddhists. They are twelve in number each subseqnent one being produced by the preceding one, *viz.* अविद्या (ignorance), संस्कार (predisposition), विज्ञान (consciousness), नामरूप (mind and body), षडायतन (6 organs of sense), स्पर्श (contact), वेदना (feeling), तृष्णा (craving), उपादान (attachment), भव (action), जाति (rebirth) and जरामरण (old age and death).

2, See Vogel's note on this word.

3, See Kern, V. G. Vol. VII, p. 225,

4. Read निरता:

5. Rd. भवन्तु

6. An inscription of King Daksha (circa 915 A. D.) from Singasari which is now preserved in the Batavia museum, has a similar beginning (See Brandes in Oud-Javaansche Oorkonde, XXX):

7a EXTRACTS FROM THE NALANDA COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA

This copper-plate was unearthed by Dr. Hirananda Shastri at the well-known Buddhist site at Nalanda in 1921.[1] The charter was issued by the *Paramasaugata P. M. P.* Sriman Devapaladeva, the son and successor of the *Paramasaugata P. M. P.* sri-Dharmapaladeva both belonging to the well known Pala dynasty of Bengal and Magadha. The document is dated on the 21st day of Kartika of the (regnal) year 39 of Devapala and records that this ruler, at the request of sri-Balaputradeva, the ruler of Suvarnnadvipa (modern Sumatra), conveyed through an ambassador, granted five villages, "for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself, for the sake of income towards the blessed Lord Buddha, for various comforts of the revered *bhikshus* of the four quarters and for writing the *dharma-ratnas* and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the said king of *Suvarnadvipa*."[2] The villages granted were Nandivanaka, Manivataka, Natika, Hastigrama and Palamaka, the first four of which were situated in the Rajagriha

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1. This inscription has been fully dealt with by Dr. H. Shastri in Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII pp 310ff.
2. The original passage in the inscription runs thus:

Ll. 33-36......विदितमस्तु भवताम् यथोपरिलिखितस्वसम्ब(म्ब)द्धाविच्छिन्न-
तलोपेतनन्दिवनकग्राम । मणिवाटकग्राम । नटिकाग्राम । हस्तिग्राम ।
पालामकग्रामाः......मया

L. 37. मातापित्रोरात्मन[श्च]पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ सुव[र्ण]द्वीपाधिपम[हा]राज-
श्रीवा(बा)लपुत्रदेवेन दूतकमुखेन वयम्विज्ञापिताः यथा मया

L. 34 श्रीनालन्दायाम्विहारः कारितस्तत्र भगवतो वु(बु)द्धभट्टारकस्य प्रज्ञापा-
रमितादिसकलधर्म्मनेत्रीस्थानस्यायार्थं तांत्र(त्रि)-

L. 39 कवो(बो)धिसत्वगणस्याष्टमहापुरुषपुद्गलस्य चतुर्दिशार्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य (ब)-
लिचरुसत्रचीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभे-

L. 40 षज्याद्यर्थं धर्मरत्नस्य लेखनाद्यर्थं विहारस्य च
शासनीकृत्य प्रतिपादित [ाः*]

Dr. Shastri explains *dharma-ratna* as Buddhist texts (i. e. for the three jewels) but the proper meaning is 'jewel of doctrine' i. e. texts containing Buddhist doctrine and has no reference to the 'three jewels.'

(Rajgir) and the fifth in the Gaya *vishaya* (district) of the sri-Nagarabhukti (Patna division).

The importance of this inscription lies not only in the fact that it records the construction of a monastery at Nalanda by a king of Java but also because it gives some new information about the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty. Thus from the latter part of the inscription, which has been quoted in the foot-note, we know that there was a ruler of Yavabhumi (Java), who was the ornament of the Sailendra dynasty and whose 'name was conformable to the illustrious crusher of his brave enemies' (*Sri-vira-vairi-mathana*). He had a son whose name is not mentioned but whose queen consort was Tara, the daughter of the illustrious king Dharmasetu, born in the lunar family. From her was born sri-Balaputradeva, the overlord of Suvarnadvipa who was the donor of a monastery at Nalanda.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

[Metres: Vasantatilaka vv. 24, 25, 27, 28; Praharshini, v. 26; Anushtubh. v. 29; Sardulavikridita, v. 30-33; Sragdhara, v. 34].

L.52. आसीदशेषनरपालविलोलमौलिमालामणिद्युतिविवो(धो)धितपादपद्मः ।
शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलको यवभूमिपालः श्रीवीरवैरिमथना(59)नुगताभिधानः ॥ [24॥]
हर्म्यस्थलेषु कुमुदेषु मृणालिनीषु शङ्खेन्दुकुन्दतुहिनेषु पदन्दधाना ।
निःशेषदिङ्मुखनिरन्तरलब्ध(ब्ध)गीतिः (54) मूर्त्तेव यस्य भुवनानि जगाम
कीर्त्तिः ॥ [25॥]
भ्रूभङ्गे भवति नृपस्य यस्य कोपाभि[भि]न्नाः सह हृदयैर्द्विषां श्रियोपि ।
चक्राणामि 55 ह हि परोपघातदक्षा जायन्ते जगति भूष(श)क्तिप्रकाराः ॥
[26॥]
तस्याभवन्नयपराक्रमशीलशाली राजेन्द्रमौलिघृततुल्ललिताङ्घ्रि (56) युग्मः ।
धर्म्मयुधिष्ठिरपराधरभीमसेनकर्णार्ज्जुनार्जितयशाः समराग्रवीरः ।[।27॥]
उद्धृतमम्वर(म्ब)रतलाध(धु)धि सञ्चरन्त्या यत्सेनयावनिरजःप (57) टलं-
पदोत्थम् ।
कर्ण्णानिलेन करिणां घनकम्पितीयर्णगयहस्यलोमवजलैः शमयाम्व(म्ब)भूव । .
[।28॥]

प्रकृष्यापत्तमेवेदमभून्नवममराह्वं ।

(48) कुलन्दैत्याधिपस्येव यवशोभिरनारतम् ॥ [29॥]

पौलमीव सुराधिपस्य विदिता सङ्कल्पयोनेरिव
[प्रीतिः] शैलसुतेव मन्मथरि(59)पोर्ल्लक्ष्मीर्मुरारेरिव ।
राज्ञः सोमकुलान्वयस्य महतः श्रीधर्म्मसेतोः सुता
तस्याभूदवनीभुजोऽग्रमहिषी तारेव ताराह्वया ॥ [30॥]

माया(60)यामिव कामदेवविजयी शुद्धोदनस्यात्मजः
स्कन्दो नन्दितदेववृन्दहृदयः शम्भोरुमायामिव ।
तस्यान्तस्य नरेन्द्रवृन्दविनमत्पादारवि(61)न्दासनः
सर्व्वोर्व्वीपतिगर्व्वखर्व्वणचणः श्रीवा(बा)लपुत्रोऽभवत् ॥ [31॥]

नालन्दागुणवृन्दलुब्ध(ब्ध)मनसा भक्त्या च शौद्धोदने-
र्वु(र्बु)द्ध्वा शैलसरित्तरंगतरलां (62) लक्ष्मीमिमां शोभनाम् ।
यस्तेनोन्नतसौधधामधवलः सङ्घार्थमित्रश्रिया
नानासद्गुणभिक्षुसङ्घवसतिस्तस्यां विहारः कृतः ॥ [32॥]

भक्त्या (63) तत्र समस्तशत्रुवनितावैधव्यदीक्षागुरुं
कृत्वा शासनमाहितादरतया सम्प्रार्थ्य दूतैरसौ ।
ग्रामान् पञ्च विपञ्चितोपरि यथोद्देशा (64) निमानात्मनः
पित्रो [र्ल्लो]कहितोदयाय च ददौ श्रीदेवपालं नृपं ॥ [33॥]

यावत्सिन्धोः प्रव(ब)न्धः पृथुलहरजटाशोभिताङ्गा च गङ्गा
गुर्व्वी (65) धत्ते फणीन्द्रः प्रतिदिनमचलो हेलया यावदुर्व्वी ।
यावच्चास्तोदयाद्री रवितुरगखुरोद्घृष्टचूडामणी स्त-
स्तावत्सत्कीर्तिरेषा प्रभव(66)तु जगतां सत्क्रिया रोपयंती ॥ [34]॥

TRANSLATION*

(V. 24) "There was a King of Yavabhumi (or Java), who was the ornament of the Sailendra dynesty, whose lotus-feet bloomed by the lustre of the jewels in the row of trembling diadems on the heads of all the princes, and whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes (*vira-vairi-mathana*).

* See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. *XVII pp*. 326-27

(V. 25) "His fame, incarnate as it were, by setting its foot on the regions of (white) palaces, in white water-lilies, in lotus plants, conches, moon, jasmine and snow and, being incessantly sung in all the quarters, pervaded the whole universe.

(V. 26) "At the time when that king frowned in anger, the fortunes of the enemies also broke down simultaneously with their hearts. Indeed the crooked ones in the world have got ways of moving which are very ingenious in striking others.

(V. 27). "He had a son, who possessed prudence, prowess, and good conduct, whose two feet fondled too much with hundreds of diadems of mighty kings (bowing down). He was the foremost warrior in battle-fields and his fame was equal to that earned by Yudhishthira, Parasara, Bhimasena, and Arjuna.

(V. 28). "The multitude of the dust of the earth, raised by the feet of his army, moving in the field of battle, was first blown up to the sky by the wind, produced by the (moving) ears of the elephants, and, then slowely settled down on the earth (again) by the ichor, poured forth from the cheeks of the elephants.

(V. 29). "By the continuous existence of whose fame the world was altogether without the dark fortnight, just like the family of the lord of the *daityas* (demous) was without the partisanship of Krishna.

(V. 30), "As Paulomi was was known to be (the wife of) the lord of the *suras* (*i. e*, Indra), Rati the wife of the mind-born (Cupid), the daughter of the mountain (Parvati) of the enemy of Cupid (*i. e.* Siva) and Lakshmi of the enemy of Mura (*i. e.* Vishnu) so Tara was the queen consort of that king, and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu of the lunar race and resembled Tara (the Buddhist goddess of this name) herself.

(V. 31). "As the son of Suddhodana (*i, e* the Buddha), the conqueror of Kamadeva, was born of Maya and Skanda, who delighted the heart of the host of gods, was born of Uma by Siva, so was born of her by that king, the illustrious Balaputra, who was expert in crushing the pride of all the rulers of the world, and before whose foot-stool (the seat where his lotus-feet rested) the groups of princes bowed.

(V. 32). "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda and through devotion to the son of Suddhodana (*i, e.* the Buddha) and having realised that riches are fickle like the waves of a mountain stream, he whose fame was like that of Sangharthamitra, built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the

assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings.

(V. 33). "Having requested, King Devapaladeva, who was the preceptor for initiating into widowhood the wives of all the enemies, through envoys, very respectfully and out of devotion and issuing a charter, (he) granted these five villages, whose purpose has been noticed above for the welfare of himself, his parents and the world.

(V. 34). "As long as there is the continuance of the occan, or the Ganges has her limbs (the currents of water) agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara (Siva), as long as the immovable king of snakes (Sesha) lightly bears the heavy and extensive earth every day and as long as the (*Udaya*) Eastern and (*Asta*) Western mountains have their crest jewels scratched by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun so long may this meritorious act, setting up virtues over thd world, endure."

7*b*, LEYDEN COPPER-PLATES OF RAJARAJA CHOLA*

This grant in twenty-one copper-plates, the first five of which are written in Sanskrit and the remaining sixteen in Tamil, is now preserved in the Leyden Mnseum in Holland. The Sanskrit portion records the grant, in the 21st year of the reign of the Chola king Rajaraja-Rajakesari-varman (985-1013 A. D.), of the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddhist *vihara* of Chudamanivarman in Nagpattana (Negapatam). This *vihara* as the inscription informs us, was caused to be built by the 'illustrious Maravijayottunga-varman of the Sailendra dynasty and the Lord of Srivishaya (*i. e.* Srivijaya) and was endowed by the Chola king Rajaraja which was confirmed by his son Rajendra Chola. The grant was executed by order of the prime-minister (*mahadhikarin*) Tillayali *alias* Rajarajamuvendavelan. The *prasasti* was composed by a Brahman named Nanda-narayana and it was engraved by five engravers of Kanchipura *viz.* Krishna-Vasudeva *alias* Rajarajavairacharya, Krishna-Tiruvarangam, Krishna-Damodara, Vasudeva-Krishna and Aravamirtu-Purushottama. Thus the Leyden plates not only furnish us with an exact parallel to the facts mentioned in the Nalanda grant† but also show the friendly relation

* Text and translation published in Burgess and Natesa Sastri *in Arch. Surv. of Southern India* Vol. *IV*. pp. 207 ff.

† Examples of foreign Buddhist rulers and even laymen bulding monasteries at important Buddhist centres for the use of

that the Sailendra king had with the Chola kings at the time of Rajaraja. But for some reason or other this relation must have been estranged at the time of Rajendrachola for in several of his inscriptions[1] we find that he led an expedition against Samgramavijayot tungavarman, the king of Kadaram. As the inscriptions are in Tamil I am giving below for the interest of general readers the English translation of the extract under reference from the Tirukkalar inscription :

He *i. e.* Rajendrachola—"having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgramavijayottungavarman, the king of Kadaram, along with (his) rutting elephants which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(took) the largc heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated, the (arch called) Vidyadhara-torana put up at the 'gate' of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war ; the 'jewel gate' adorned with great splendour ; the 'gate of large jewels' the prosperous Sri-Vishaya ; Pannai with a *ghat* of (bathing) water ; the ancient Malaiyur (with) a fort situated on a fine hill ; Mayirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat ; Ilangasogam (*i. e.* Laikasoka) undaunted (in) fierce battles ; Mappappalam having abundant high waters as defence ; Mevilimbangam, having fine walls as defence ; Valaippanduru, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle ; the principal city of Takkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences ; the island of Madamalingam, of strong battlements ; Ilamuri-desam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength ; the great Nakkovaram, whose gardens (abounded in) flowers dribbling honey ; and Kadaram of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers weaving *kalal.*[2]"

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their own people and others are found at a time much earlier than this and the Nalanda grants. It is well known that king Meghavanna of Ceylon had a splendid monastery built at Bodh-Gaya with the permission of Sailendra Gupta. A similar instance is found in one inscription from Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Ind. XX* pp. 21 f.) where a female lay-worshipper (*Upasika*) Bodhisiri by name and particulars about whom are wanting in the inscription built during the reign of a king Mathariputa (probably Siri-Virapurisadata) of the Ikkhaku dynasty, a shrine which was dedicated to the fraternities of monks from Ceylon.

1 See the following inscriptions of Rajendrachola (I) : (1) Copper Plates belonging to the Parijatavanesvara temple of Tirukkalar in the Tanjore district, of the 18th regnal year—*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. pt. IV pp. 466 ff. (2) Tanjore temple inscription of the 19th regnal year—*Ibid.* Vol. II pp. 105 ff. No. 20. (3) Sutturu (Somesvara temple) Kanarese inscription of the 31st (actually 21st) year—*Ep.* Carn Vol. III p, 208, No. 164. Tiruvalangadu Plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. III Pt. III,

2 Among the places mentioned in this campaign Sri-Vishaya is the same as Sri-Vijaya, identified by M. Coedes with the residency of Palambang in Sumatra. Nakkavaram and Pappalam have been

Usually this account of the conquest of Kataha is found only in Tamil inscriptions of the 16th and later years of Rajendrachola I. The Tirumalai inscription dated in the 13th regnal year of the king does not mention this conquest. It may be concluded therefrom that Rajendrachola must have led his naval expedition some time between the 13th and 16th year of his reign.[1] Samgramavijayottungavarman, the king of Kataha with whom Rajendrachola fought is presumed to be the successor of Maravijayottungavarman of the Sailendra dynasty who is mentioned in the Leyden grant. We do not know the reason which led to the expedition and how far the Sailendra king submitted to the Chola king. But there is nothing to show that the Sailendra kings were feudatories to the Cholas, at least before the above mentioned expedition, as Mr. Venkayya appears to have thought.[2]

Besides the above Leyden grant there is another grant written in Tamil which also is now preserved in the Leyden museum.[3] It was issued in the 20th year of Kaviraja Kesarivarman Sri Kullottunga-chola and records an exemption of certain taxes in connection with the villages granted to the Sri Sailendra-chudamani *Vihara.* This exemption was allowed at the request of the king of Kidara, conveyed through the latter's messengers Rajavidyadhara Samanta and Abhimanottunga Samanta.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

Ll. 73-76. सोयम्……राजराजो राजकेसरि (76) वर्म्मा स्वसाम्राज्यवर्षे एकविंश-तितमे निखिलधरित्रितिलकायमाने क्ष-(77)त्रियशिखामणिवलनाडु-(Valanadu)नाम्नि महति जनपदनिवहे पट्टनक्कूर (Pattanakkurra)-

identified respectively with the Nicobar islands and a port of that name in Burma. Takkolam is taken to be the same as Takopa on the western part of the Malay Peninsula. Kadaram has been located in lower Burma by Mr. Venkayya (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for* 1898-99 p. 17; cf. *S. I. I.* Vol. III p.194f.) but perhaps it should be identified with Kedu or Kidap in the Malay Peninsula.

1 Though the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu plates which like the Tamil portion is dated in the 5th year of Rajendrachola's reign, mentions his conquest of Kataha Mr. Venkayya is of opinion that the Sanskrit portion was subsequently composed and added to the Tamil document (see *Annual Report on Epigrahpy for* 1905-06 p. 66)

2 See *Arch. Survey Report*, 1911-12 p. 175.

3 See *Arch. Surv. of Southern India* Vol. *IV*. pp. 224*ff*.

नाम्नि जनप-(78)देऽनेकसुरसदनसत्रप्रपारामाभिरामे विविधसौधराजी-
राजमाने ना-(79)गीपत्तने निजमतिविभवसुरगुरुणा बुधजनकमलवन-
मरीचिमालिना-(80)र्थिजनकल्पपादपेन शैलेन्द्रवंशसम्भूतेन श्रीविषया-
धिपति-(81)ना कटाहाधिपत्यमातन्वता मकरध्वजेनाधिगतसकलराज-
विद्यस्य चूडा-(82)मणिवर्म्मणः पुत्रेण श्रीमारविजयोत्तुङ्गवर्म्मणा स्व-
पितृनाम्ना निर्म्मापितमध-(83)रीकृतकनकगिरिसमुन्नतिविभवमतिरम-
णीयञ्चूडामणिवर्म्मविहारमधिव-(84)सते बुद्धाय तस्मिन्नेव जनपद-
निवहे Pattanakkurra नाम्नि जनप(85)दे करिणीपरिक्रमणविस्पष्ट-
सीमाचतुष्टयमणैमंगलाभिधा(86)नं ग्राममदात् ॥

इत्यन्देवेन दत्तस्य स्वपित्रा चक्रवर्तिना [।]
ग्रामस्यास्य गते (87) तस्मिन्देवभूमम्महौजसि ॥
तत्सिंहासनमारूढस्तत्पुत्रो मधुरान्तकः [।]
(88) शासनम् शाश्वतन्धीमान् कारयित्वादिशन्नृपः ॥
शेषोशेषाम्महीं याव-(89)द्धत्ते शेषोरगेश्वरः [।]
स्थेयात्तावद्विहारोयम् विभवेन स-(90)हावनौ ॥
सोयं कटाहाधिपतिर्गुणानान्निवासभूमिर्महितप्र-(91)भावः [।]
आगामिनः प्रार्थयते नरेन्द्रान्धर्म्मं सदेमम्मम रक्षतेति ॥

"He, ...Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman, the crest jewel of Kshatriyas in the twenty-first year of his own universal rule, in the great country named Valanadu, thickly inhabited and shining as an ornament to the whole world in the division of Pattanakkurru, in the town resplendent with many temples, choultries, water-places, and groves, and shining with manifold rows of mansions—Nagapattana : by Sri Maravijayottungavarman, son of Chudamanivarman, possessed of the entire science of royal polity, who, by virtue of his own wisdom, was a *guru* to the gods, who was the ray-garlanded (*sun*) to the lotus groves of the wise and a *kalpavriksha* to the needy, sprung from the Sailendra family and the lord of the Srivishaya country, who possessed of the Makaradhvaja, assumed the lordship over Kataha (by Maravijayottunga), he (the king) gave—to the Buddha dwelling in the exceedingly beautiful Chudamanivarman vihara, so named, after his own father, whose greatness and loftiness surpasses Kanakagiri *(Meru)*—the village Anaimangalam, in that same populous district named Pattanakkurru, whose four boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant.

"To the village thus given by his majesty the emperor (*cakravartin*) his father, he of great glory having gone to

divine glory, his son, the wise king Mathurantaka, having ascended his throne, and having caused a perpetual grant to be made, thus ordered: so long as Sesha, the king of all the serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this Vihara stand with power on the earth. This same lord of the Kataha country, the abode of virtues and of renowned power, thus represents the kings yet to come: Protect ye for ever this edict of mine."

APPENDIX

Did Java and Srivijaya get the Mahayana cult from Pala Bengal ?

(A)—Comments on the inscriptions of Canggal, Kedu, Kalasan and Nalanda by Dr. Stutterheim in the Tijdscrift, 1927, and in 'A Javanese period in Sumatran History,' 1929.

A Kavi inscription found at Kedu (in Central Java) gives us a list of the kings of Mataram (Central Java) beginning with Sanjaya—the hero of the Canggal inscription, The immediate successor of Sanjaya, according to this list. is Maharaja Panangkaran whom Dr. Stutterheim identifies with the Maharaja Panankaran of the inscription of Kalasan.

But Panankaran of the Kalasan inscription is a Sailendra—i. e. a prince supposed to belong to the royal family of Srivijaya (in Sumatra). We know nothing however as to how the Sailendras got a footing in Java. There is nothing to suggest conquest by force of arms.

Stutterheim's theory is that Sanjaya of Mataram (in Central Java), whose panegyric we read in the Canggal inscription, was himself a Sailendra. This dynasty then, according to Stutterheim, originated not in Srivijaya but but in Java. Stutterheim quotes a Kavi Work Carita Parahyangan in which Sanjaya is described as having won victories in Khmer, Malayu, Keling and in the country last named Sang Srivijaya is defeated by him. Probably these conquests took place after the dedication of the linga mentioned in the Canggala inscription (732 A. D.). Dr. Stutterheim then proceeds to interpret the Nalanda inscription (c. 850 A. D) in a daring manner in the new light thrown on it by the Kedu list of kings. Maharaja Balaputra of Sumatra, the donor of the monastery at Nalanda, refers to his grandfather, a king of Java, not by name but by the meaning of his name—which is वीरवैरिमथन

(he who has crushed the valiant enemy). Then Balaputra's father is described as समराग्र (foremost in war) and his (Balaputra's) mother is mentioned by the name of Tara. Tara is said to be the daughter of a king Dharmasetu. Now Stutterheim proposes to identify Sanjaya, a famous conqueror, with the grandfather of Balaputra. In this case Sanjaya's successor Panangkaran would be the father of Balaputra and Tara would be the queen of Panangkaran. This seems to receive some confirmation from the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) in which we find Panangkaran dedicating a temple to Tara. The queen on her death might have been identified with the goddess Tara and the Kalasan temple might have been built to commemorate her memory. Again in the inscriptions of Kalasan and Kelurak (782 A. D) we come across the word Dharmasetu and in the Nalanda inscription Dharmasetu is mentioned as a king whose daughter is Tara—the mother of Balaputra. Dr. Stutterheim is bold enough to identify Dharmasetu with Dharmapala—the famous Pala ruler of Bengal. So his theory is that it was after the marriage of Dharmapala's daughter Tara, a Bengali princess, with king Panangkaran of Java that Mahayana elements began to be mixed up with the Saiva doctrines already existing in Java. Dharmapala, according to Stutterheim, was the guru as well as the father-in-law of Panang karan.

Finally Dr. Stutterheim points out that there was no embassy from Srivijaya to China during the period 750-904 A. D. It was after 904 A. D. that ambassadors from Srivijaya began to visit again the Chinese Court. Therefore Dr. Stutterheim believes that Javanese rule over Sumatra ended in 904 A. D. Thus by supposing that the Sailendra monarchs belongod to Mataram (Central Java) and not to Srivijaya, Dr. Stutterheim rejects the hitherto accepted designation of the period (750-904 A. D) as a Sumatran period of Javanese history and would replace it by a new designation—a Javanese period of Sumatran history.

(B)—The Inscription of Kelurak and the visit to Java of the Mahayanist Raja-guru from Bengal (From the article by Dr. Bosch in the Tijdscrift voor Indische Taal-Laand en Volkenkunde, LXVIII, 1928).

This inscription of Kelurak (near Prambanan in Central Java) is in the Nagari script like some other Mahayana records, as for e. g. that of Kalasan, which bear the names of the Sailendra monarchs. It is dated 704 (Saka era i. e. 782 A. D.). Portions of it are badly damaged. Just as in the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) we are told that it was due to the persuasion of the guru that the temple

and image of Tara were constructed by the Sailendra monarch—similarly in the Kelurak inscription it is the Rajaguru, coming from Gaudidvipa (Bengal) to 'purify with the holy dust of his feet' the Sailendra ruler of Central Java, who consecrates the image of Manjusri. Dr. Stutterheim believes that the guru mentioned in the Kalasan inscription was no other than Dharmmapala, the celebrated Pala ruler of Bengal. In the Kelurak inscription the name of the Raja-guru seems to be Kumaraghosa. He is then not the king of Bengal but a very holy personage who has come all the way from Bengal to teach Mahayana doctrines in Java. There must have been many such visitors from overseas. Dr. Bosch quotes the Nagarakritagama (83,4); "Continuously people of all kinds came by sea to Java, numerous merchants, monks and distinguished Brahmans."

Another passage in the Kelurak inscription raises some interesting points. We have seen that in the Nalanda inscription the Sailendra monarch Balaputra (the donor of the monastery at Nalandra mentioned in the inscription) refers to his grandfather a king of Java (not Sumatra), not by name but by the meaning of his name which is वीरवैरिमथन Now, the king of the Kelurak inscription is extolled as वैरिवरवीर-विमर्द या and therefore it wonld not be unreasonable to identify him with the grandfather of Balaputra. Balaputra, a contemporary of Devapala of Bengal, may be assigned a a date c. 850 A.D. and the date of the Kelurak inscription is 782 A.D.

Dr. Bosch agrees with Dr. Stutterheim in accepting Panangkaran, the second prince of the list of Kedu, as the same person as the Maharaja Panankaran of the Kalasan inscriptson. But further than this they do not agree at all. Dr. Bosch believes thnt Panangkaran did not belong to an indigenous dynasty of Java, but was one of the younger Sailendra princes of Sumatra, who, by his marriage with a Javanese princess, became the legitimate successor of Sanjaya. The restoration of the Javanese dynasty might also have taken place by another marriage c. 904 A. D. So Dr. Bosch sticks to the older theory of the Sumatran period of Javanese history, through in a recent lecture delivered by him at the Societe Asiatique, Paris, he seems to appreciate the importance of the points raised by Dr. Stutterheim.

To sum up, Dr. Stutterheim's identification of Dharmapala (of Bengal) with Dharmasetu, whom he supposes to be the father-in-law of king Panangkaran, is far-fetched. Prof. Coedes shows us from an old Malay inscription of Srivijaya dated 606 saka era—(i. e. 684 A. D.) that the Vajrayana was already known in Sumatra at that early date. The far reaching influence of Nalanda is also well known. In

the Kelurak inscription we actually find a Mahayanist guru from Bengal visiting Java. Thus, without dragging in Dharmapala, we can point to Bengal as the source of the Mahayana and Tantrayana cults in Java and Sumatra. In my 'Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia' (vide the conclusion) written in 1926 I had tried to show that Pala Bengal might well be given the credit for having spread Mahayana and Tantrayana teachings in Indo-China and Insulindia. Now this point is well established.

Text of the Kelurak
Inscription (dated 704 saka era)

This inscription is in Nagari script and was found near Prambanan in Central Java. It is badly damaged but luckily the important portions are decipherable.

नमो रत्नत्रयाय

जयलोकेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जयभद्रेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर ।

जयविश्वेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जय···श्वरसुगतपदाक्षर ॥ (१)

धर्षति यो लोकेश···धर्त्तुं मूर्ध्नामिताभम् अपि लोकेश्वरम् ।

प्रणमत तम् लोकेशम् सकलदिगन्तावभासनालोकेशम् ॥ (२)

....

....(३)

सामन्तमन्त्रिपतिसंस्कृतसत्क्रमेण दिक्चक्रराजविजयार्जितविक्रमेण ।

···रवैरिवरवीरविमर्दनेन नित्यं परार्थकर(णा)···मेन ॥ (४)

शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकेन महोदयेन यस्य क्रमाम्बुजरजैः शिरसाप्रणम्य ।

सम्पूज्यते प्रवररत्नसरोरुहार्थं राज्ञा धृता धृतिमता धरणीन्द्रनाम्ना ॥ (५)

....

....(६)

गौडिद्वीपगुरुक्रमाम्बुजरजःपूतोत्तमाङ्गात्मन···र्थविद्यामहाब्धिसहृदासवेद ।

······प्राह्याभिषेक क्रिया श्रेयः कार······विद्याद्रिणा ॥ (७)

....

मञ्जुश्रीरयं अप्रमेयसुगतप्रख्यात···कीर्तिमहा······राजगुरुणा लोकार्थसंस्था-
पितः ॥ (८)

....

....(९)

·········श्रेष्ठोपचारविलक्षणस्व जगतः प्रादुर्विधातुः श्रियः ।

कृत्वेमाम् प्रतिमां मया यदमितं प्राप्तं गुरुं भक्तितं
सेवा······स्मरजितः······मञ्जुश्री-यम् ॥ (१०)
शकनृपकालातीते वर्षशतैः सप्तभिश्चतुर्भिरपि ।
वर्षैः कुमारघोषः स्थापितवान मञ्जुघोषं इमम् ॥ (११)
··
·· (१२)
कीर्त्तिस्तम्भोऽयं अतुलो धर्म्मसेतुः अनुत्तमः ।
रक्षार्थं ○ ○ सर्व्वसत्वानां मञ्जुश्रीप्रतिमाकृतिः ॥ (१३)
······ ◡ ······································
···(१४)
अयं स वज्रधृक् श्रीमान ब्रह्मा विष्णुम्महेश्वरः ।
सर्व्वदेवमय स्वामी मञ्जुवागितिगीयते ॥ (१५)

Summary :—After the invocation to Lokesvara there begins the eulogy of the king—one of whose qualifications is that of वैरिवरवीरविमर्दन. Then comes the important passage (7th stanza-1st line)—"his (the king's) head purified with the dust of the lotus-like feet of the guru from Gaudi-dvipa (Bengal)." The rest of the stanza is unhappily badly damaged. In the 8th stanza we read that the image of Manjusri has been consecrated by the Rajaguru. In the 11th stanza we get the date of the inscription—704 saka era and we are told that in that year Kumaraghosa (probably the name of the Rajaguru) has consecrated the image of Manjusri. In the 15th stanza we find Manjusri identified with Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara.

B. R. C.

INSCRIPTION OF ERLANGGA FROM PENANG-GUNGEN (SURABAYA)

(SAKA YEAR 963)

This inscription which was formerly preserved in the Indian Museum,[1] Calcutta, was found on a stone inscribed on both sides. It must have been taken to Calcutta from Java in Sir Stamford Raffle's time.[2] As it was written in an old Javanese script it had been neglected in the Calcutta Museum. No one suspected that the language of one of these inscriptions was pure Sanskrit while the other was in Kavi. When K. F. Halle heard of the stone he got estam-pages of both the inscriptions and sent them to Prof. Kern. On decipherment the latter found that on account of the person celebrated in it, the Sanskrit inscription was a very important historical record. The middle portion of the inscription has been partly effaced by the action of the weather and the characters are too indistinct.

There is a remarkable peculiarity that between the lines there are faint traces visible of something like letters. There are examples in India where new inscriptions have been engraved on old ones. But for a record of this kind in honour of the king Erlangga one would not expect an old inscribed stone to be used.

The height of the stone is 1 24 metres, and breadth 0 95 at the top and 0 86 at the bottom. The inscription consists of 37 lines of writing. With the exception of the word *Svasti* at the beginning the whole is in Sanskrit verse and contains 34 stanzas of different metres. The letters which betray a skilled hand, are the usual old Javanese (Kavi). The consonants are sometimes doubled after and sometimes not (*e. g. kirti* or *kirtti* : *purva* or *purvva*). There is no *anusvara* visible on the stone and the same sign has been used for the medial *o* and *au*.

In judging the quite creditable verses found in this inscription we should remember that their author was composing a panegyric on Er-langga and not writing a chronicle. He recounts the king's deeds in a manner which is quite sufficient to remind his contemporaries of facts

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[1] I do not know where the inscription is now preserved. On enquiry from the Museum authorities I was told that the stone was sent back to Java (?) at the request of the Dutch Government.

[2] We know that the Minto stone was sent by Raffles as a present to Lord Minto. In a letter, dated 23 June, 1813 Lord Minto, writes—"I am very grateful for the great stone from the interior of your island. I shall be very much tempted to mount this Java rock upon our Minto crags that it may tell Eastern tales of us, long after our heads are under smoother stones."

which they knew but which is not enough for later generations. The events of Er-langga's reign remain obscure for us. But it is still extremely important and it is not surpassed in value by any other record we possess.

The memory of Er-langga has long since been effaced among the Javanese. There is not a single chronicle which mentions him. But the Balinese have still a tradition that Er-langga ruled in Kediri and that under him Kavi literature blossomed out. Some of the most renowned Kavi poems—Arjuna-vivaha, Smaradahana, Sumanasantaka—were composed during his reign. The old Javanese translation of the Mahabharata should also be assigned to the same epoch. The Virataparvan was written in the Saka era 918 during the reign of Dharmavamsa Anantavikrama (a predecessor of Er-langga).

The period of Er-langga was already known from one of his grants dated in 945 of the Saka era. This date falls between the two dates found in our inscription. There are also other grants of this king which have not yet been published.

Neither of the two inscriptions tells us how far the kingdom of Er-langga extended. But they do not contradict the Balinese tradition that he was the ruler of Kediri. The Sanskrit inscription mentions that he was highly honoured by the king of East Java. After he had punished his enemies in the East, South and West, he was enthroned as the overlord of Yavadvipa in the Saka year 957 (1035 A.D.). To commemorate this event he constructed a hermitage for monks near mount Pugavat which on account of its magnificent design became so renowned that people came from distant places to admire it.

From our inscription we find that Er-langga was descended on his mother's side from Sri-Isanatunga, a Javanese ruler and that Er-langga's mother was Mahendradatta, the daughter of king Sri-Makuta-vamsa-vardhana whose mother was the daughter of Sri Isana-tunga. In Mpu Sindok we then recognise the great-great-grand-father of Er-langga. Saka year 913 is now accepted as the date of birth of Er-langga. In the year 957 of the same era he reached the pinnacle of power and of fame.

The royal adventures are rather indicated in the inscription than told in detail. There are descriptive passages but the descriptions are concerned with matters of no particular importance. Important matters are only hinted at. Then the author of the inscription seems to avoid Javanese words. Even the name of Er-langga is sometimes Sanskritised as Jala-langga or Nira-langga.[1]

1 *Er* is the Javanese word for water and *langga* means 'to sip'.

Er-langga was the son of Udayana and Mahendradatta. He was treated with great distinction by Sri Dharmavamsa, prince of East Java and obtained much honour when he visited the latter. Not much later his capital was burnt (according to Krom it was not the capital of Er-langga but that of Dharmavamsa). With some faithful retainers he sought refuge in jungle. In the Saka year 932 in the month of Magha, he was implored by the Brahmins to reduce the whole country to submission. He made wars with the neighbouring princes and in the Saka year 954 he slew a queen who was like a giantess in strength. From the South he returned laden with booty. He overthrew the king of the West whose name was Vijaya, in the month of Bhadra of the Saka year 957. Vijaya was treacherously murdered by his own troops, and in the month of Kartika of the same year Er-langga assumed the title of the overlord of Java. In the fulness of success he decided to construct a magnificent hermitage near mount Pugavat which was equal in splendour to Indra's palace. The poem ends with the prayer that the King's reign may continue to be prosperous.

On the other side of the stone is the Kavi rendering which gives us a few additional points.

Text[1]

[Metres —vv 1-3 and 9—Arya , vv, 4, 5, 8, 15, 17-19, 21, 28, 32 and 34—Sardulavikridita, vv. 6, 7, 10-13, 16, 20, 22-27 and 31—Vasantatilaka ; v. 14—Manjubhashini ; vv. 29 and 30—Malini ; v. 33—Sragdhara]

॥ स्वस्ति ॥

त्रिभिरपि गुणैरुपेतो नृणाम्विधाने[2] स्थितौ तथा प्रलये [।*]

अगुण इति यः प्रसिद्धस्तस्मै धात्रे नमस्सततम् ॥ [1॥*]

अगणितविक्रमगुरुणा प्रणम्यमानस्सुराधिपेन सदा [।*]

But इरा in Sanskrit also means 'water'. The name Iralangga then would mean he who drinks water, i. e. he who drinks up the sea. Can it be possible that it is reminiscent of the tradition of Agastya sipping up the sea ? N. P. C.

1 This inscription which was published by Kern as far back as 1885 was not attended by a complete facsimile. The inscription having been removed from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, it was not possible to examine the original stone. In the present text, therefore, I have depended on Kern's reading in general, excepting the portion of which a facsimile has been published. The verses are not numbered, but there is a mark after each verse to denote its end. Portion of the inscription is badly damaged and the syllables restored have been put within brackets. N. P. C.

2 Kern reads नृणाम्विधाने but न्वि is clear on the plate.

(अ)पि त्रिविक्रम इति प्रथितो लोके नमस्तस्मै ॥ [2॥❀]

यस्स्थित्युत्पत्तिसंहर्त्र्य¹थेप्सितार्थप्रदो गुणैर्जगताम् [।❀]

कल्पद्रुममतनुमयःकरोति तस्मै शिवाय नमः ॥ [3॥❀]

कीर्त्याञ्चयितया श्रिया कलया यस्यौपरस्यन्मुख-

चापाकर्षयुतश्च यः प्रविहितस्त्रीमल्लभूरुक्कुरे [।❀]

यश्चासच्चरिते पराङ्मुखतया शूरो रणे भीरुतां

स्वेदोंषाम्भजते गुणैस्स जयतादेर्लङ्गनामा नृपः ॥ [4॥❀]

आसीन्निर्जितभूरिभूधरगणो भूपालचूडामणिः

प्रख्यातो भुवनत्रयेऽपि महता शौर्य्येण सिंहोपमः [।❀]

येनोर्व्वी सुचिरन्धृतामितफला लक्ष्मी²न्दधौ गत्वरी(म्)³

स श्रीकीर्त्तिबलान्वितो यवपतिश्श्रीशानतुङ्गाह्वयः ॥ [5॥❀]

तस्यात्मजाकलुषमानसवाससरम्या

हंसी यथा सुगतपक्षसहाभवद् या [।❀]

सा राजहंसमुदमेव विवर्द्धयन्ती

श्रीशानतुङ्गविजयेति रराज राज्ञी ॥ [6॥❀]

मन्दाकिनीमिव तदात्मसमां समृद्ध्या

क्षीरार्णवः प्रथितशुद्धिगुणान्तरात्मा [।❀]

ताम्याकरोत्प्रणयिनीञ्जयनाभिनन्दी

श्रीलोकपालनृपतिर्मरनाथनागः ॥ [7॥❀]

तस्मात्प्रा⁴दुरभूत्प्रभाववि(ब)दो भूभृद्बलोद्भूतये

भूतानाम्भवभावनोद्यतधिया क्ष्माम्भावयन्भूतिभिः [।❀]

शौरिश्चाप्रतिमप्रभाभिरभयो भास्वानिवाभ्युद्यत-

द्यन्नूयामिभकुम्भकुम्भदलने पुत्रः प्रभुर्भूभुजाम् ॥ [8॥❀]

श्रीमकुटवंशवर्द्धन इति प्रतीतो नृपाणमनुपमेन्द्रः [।❀]

श्रीशानवंशतपनस्ततापं शुभ्रप्रतापेन ॥ [9॥❀]

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1 The plate shows-तराज्य as Kern reads but this reading would spoil the metre.

2 The plate shows up to ल only.

3 Kern reads गत्वरी but I prefer to read गत्वरीम् as adjective to लक्ष्मीं. This is common in Sanskrit literature and gives a better meaning. *Cf.* Kirata XI. 12.

4 Kern reads *pradu*—but this reading gives no meaning and renders the metre faulty.

तस्याधिपस्य दुहितातिमनोज्ञरूपा
मूर्तेव भाव(?)गुणतो यवराजलक्ष्मीः [।✻]
द्वीपान्तरेपि सुभगेन बभूव पित्रा
नाम्ना कृता खलु गुणप्रियधर्म्मपत्नी ॥ [10॥✻]
आसीदसावपि विशिष्टविशुद्धजन्मा
राजान्वयादुदयनः प्रथितात्प्रजातः [।✻]
तां श्रीमतीम्विधिवदेव महेन्द्रदत्ता-
म्व्यक्ताह्वयो[1] नृपसुतामुपयच्छते स्म ॥ [11॥*]
श्रेष्ठः प्रजासु सकलासु कलाभिरामो
रामो यथा दशरथात्स्वगुणैर्गरीया-[।✻]
न्सम्भावितोन्नतगतिर्महसा मुनीन्द्रै-
रैलङ्गदेव इति दिव्यसुतस्ततोभूत् ॥ [12॥✻]
श्रीधर्म्मवंश इति पूर्वयवाधिपेन
सम्बन्धिना गुणगणाश्रवणोत्सुकेन [।✻]
आहूय सादरमसौ स्वसुताविवाह-
न्द्राक् सर्वथा प्रथितकीर्त्तिरभून्महात्मा ॥ [13॥✻]
अथ भस्मसादभवदाशु तत्पुर-
म्पुरुहूतराष्ट्रमिव चोद्यतं चिरं[2] (?) [।✻]
तलिना‿[3]सेनखलु किङ्करैर्विना
स नरोत्तमैरुपहितो वनान्यगात् ॥ [14॥✻]
शाकेन्द्रेथ (वि)[4]लोचनाग्निवदने याते महावत्सरे
माघे मासि सितत्रयोदशतिथौ वारे शशिन्युत्सुकैः [।✻]
आगत्य प्रणतैर्जनैर्द्विजवरैस्साश्वासमभ्यर्थित-
श्श्रीलोकेश्वरनीरलङ्गनृपतिः पाहीत्युदन्ता[5] क्षितिम् ॥ [15॥✻]

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1 Kern reads ञ्विधिवदेव and व्यक्ताह्वयो which do not give the proper meaning.

2 Kern reads मुद्यतं चिरं (?), which is not only grammatically wrong but does not give any sense either.

3 Kern remarks that the letter in the gap looks like a ग or श and thinks that it was originally स्व on the stone.

4 Kern leaves a gap here.

5 Kern reads पाहीत्युतन्ताम् which does not give any sense.

साम्राज्यदीक्षितमिमन्नृपतिञ्जितस्य
    सत्या जितारिनिकरविवहो रिपूणाम् [।ॐ]
अथापि तद्भुजभुजङ्गतलस्य विम्य-
    दुन्यस्यतीव (चप)लत्वमभूतपूर्व्वम् ॥ [16॥ॐ]
भूयांसो यवभूभुजो बुभुजिरे पृथ्वी[1]म्विपक्षार्थिन-
    स्सामर्थ्यान्नृपजन्मनोतु (?) बुभुजुस्त दा)[2] नरेन्द्रासने [।ॐ]
तिष्ठं श्रीजललक्ष्मदेवनृपतिवर्योधि(नाथा)ग्रश्री-
    र्मो भक्ते स भुनक्ति केवलमरिन्दुन्दुम्भ्रमन्भूतले ॥ [17॥ॐ]
भूभृन्मस्तक(स)कपादयुगलस्सिंहासने संस्थितो
    मन्त्राज्ञोपनतमरैरहरहस्सम्भाषितो मन्त्रिभिः [।ॐ]
भास्वद्भिर्ललनान्वितो निविशते वीरैः परीतो भृशं
    ज्योतिस्तस्य पराजये विजयवधिश्रीयते सन्ततम् ॥ [18॥ॐ]
पुत्रान्मामतिवत्सलोऽपि सहसा त्यक्त्वा मदीयः पति-
    स्स्वर्गस्त्रीगमनो⏑—⏑⏑⏑—आज्ञाविधेयस्तव [।ॐ]
स्यातस्त्वम्भुवने दयालुहृदयस्तेऽन्या प्रवृत्तिः कथम्
    हा राजन् क कृपेत्यरेवनितया——⏑या लप्यते ॥ [19॥ॐ]
कश्चिन्मुमुक्षु⏑⏑——⏑⏑——⏑— —
    —वासये धनमक्षानि महानराति: [।ॐ]
कश्चित्त्रिविष्टपसुता[3]न्नृवरस्य मन्त्रा-
    न्सम्प्राप्य शिष्य इव तेन कृतस्स आसीत् ॥ [20॥ॐ]
तुष्णा—भुवनत्रयस्य मह — — —⏑— —⏑—
    किं वन्धा न चिकीर्षया क्ष ⏑⏑ — किं तद्यु तस्ते रस: [।ॐ]
किं क्रीडारसलिप्सया रभसया[4] मत्यो(द्ध)तिः कीर्तिता
    कीर्त्तिः शुद्धिकरी⏑दा धवल— — मान्यातेहर्निशम् ॥ [21॥ॐ]
इन्द्रामरेषु ⏑⏑ वाकूचरितेषु दृष्टो
    धर्येषु (भा)गक्ष[5]दसौ धनदोर्थिसार्थे [।ॐ]

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1 Kern reads पृथ्वि

2 Kern reads (*a*) *nububhujas* which is grammatically incorrect.

3 Kern reads सुता.

4 Kern reads सुधा.

5 Should we read भागव ?

संहृत्य हन्तु⏑रराशिति[1] लोकपाला-

मेको बहुक्ष⏑⏑—म्रियते[2]स्म धात्रा ॥ [22॥❀]

आसीन्नृ—⏑⏑⏑—प्रख—⏑— —

भीष्मप्रभाव इति तस्य सुतो महात्मा [।❀]

— — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ —ज वर्ष

— — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ लोकात् ॥ [23॥❀]

अन्यश्च कश्चिदथमापलुदाभिधान-

स्साक्षाद्गजानन इवाध्यधमाप्तशान्तिः [।❀]

— —⏑—स्य⏑⏑—⏑⏑—नगेन्द्रे

— —⏑—⏑⏑⏑—न्यवधीत्तमाशु ॥ [24॥❀]

ततश्च तदनन्तरन्नृपसुतञ्जिगीषुर्भुव-[3]

स्तदालयमशेषमेव सहसाभ्यधाक्षीन्नृपः [।❀]

पुनः पुनरथाग्निभूतवदने शकाब्दे गते

वरो नरपतिस्तदीयनगरायदन्वशात ॥ [25॥❀]

अभवदपि भुवि यो राक्षसोयोग्रवीर्य्या-

व्यपगतभयमस्यास्तद्गृहाद्गाममयासीत् [।❀]

जलनिधिशररन्ध्रे शाकसम्वत्सरेस्मिन्

नृपतिरभिनदेतद्बलशक्त्याख्यातकीर्त्तिः ॥ [26॥❀]

ज्वलन इव नगेन्द्रो लेलिहानोदहत्ता-

न्विषमधिकमनार्य्यान्दक्षिणान्पक्षिणत्वात [।❀]

धनमतिबहुलुण्ठं तच्च दत्त्वात्मभृत्ये

द्विजपतिमुनिमध्ये कीर्त्तिमेवाहरत्सः ॥ [27॥❀]

मानित्वादथ शैलभूतलपने शाकेन्द्रवर्षे गते

भद्रे[4]मासि सितत्रयोदशतिथौ वारे बुधे पावने [।❀]

अथ तैर्बलिभिर्बलैरगणितैर्गत्वा दिशम्पश्चिमां

राजानम्बि[5]जयादयं समजयद्राजा जगत्पूजितः ॥ [28॥❀]

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1 Restore as मरराशिति.

2 Kern reads म्रि.

3 Kern reads भुवास् which is grammatically incorrect.

4 Kern reads भद्रे and corrects as भाद्रे

5 Kern reads ज्बि which is evidently an error for म्बि

अथ मुनिशररन्ध्रे शाकवर्षेष्टमाख्ये
सुरगुरुसितिपक्षे कार्तिके मासि तस्मिन् [।❀]
निजबलनिगृहीतो वैष्णुगुप्तैरुपायै-
स्सपदि विजयनामा पार्थिवो धामगच्छत् ॥ [29॥❀]
मुख[1]शरविवराख्ये शाकराजस्य वर्षे
हतशशिगुरुवारे कार्तिके पञ्चदश्यां
रिपुशिरसि महात्मा श्रीयवद्वीपराजो
जयति निहितपादो रत्नसिंहासनस्थः ॥ [30॥❀]
पूर्वादिदिग्विजयिनं हतसर्वशत्रु-
मेकातपत्रमवनेर्जललङ्गदेवम् [।❀]
नान्यत्किरीटितुमलं स्वभुजोपपीड-
गाढम्परिष्वजति सम्प्रति राजलक्ष्मीः ॥ [31॥❀]
निर्जित्याथ रिपून्पराक्रमघनान् शौर्य्यै[2]रुपायैरपि
शक्त्याशयितसया खलु व्रतितया वा देवताराधने- [।❀]
रन्तुञ्जातमहानृपस्य कुरुते पुण्याश्रमं श्रीमतः
पार्श्वे पूगवतो गिरेर्नरपतिश्श्रीनीरलङ्गाह्वयः ॥ [32॥❀]
श्रृण्वन्तो राजकीयाश्रममसममिमञ्चन्दनोद्यानदेश्य-
ङ्गच्छन्तस्सन्ततन्तेऽप्यहमहमिकया विस्मयाल्लोलनेत्रा(:) [।❀]
माध्वादिप्रीतिकारास्स्तुतिमुखरमुखा मुख्यमेतन्नृपाणा-
म्मानीना[3]म्मन्यमाना मनुमिव महसा माननीयम्ब्रुवन्ति ॥ [33॥❀]
साधूनाम्पथि यातु पौरसमितिर्धर्म्यां गतिर्मन्त्रिणा-
म्भूयाद्भूतहितैषिणो मुनिजना इत्यन्नृपे प्रार्थना [।❀]
यस्मिञ्जीवति राज्ञि रक्षति भुवन्धर्मा सिद्ध्यन्ति ते
तस्माच्छ्रीजललङ्गदेवनृपतिर्दीर्घं स जीव्यादिति ॥ [34॥❀]

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1 According to Kern's reading the inscription has मक which does not give any sense. Kern also suggests मुख as the probable reading.

2 Kern reads घनाच्छौर्य्यै but the ablative does not give the proper sense. Evidently we have to read as घनान् qualifying रिपून्

3 Kern reads म्मानीनम्मन्यमाना ; but मानीनम् is grammatically incorrect and the correction would spoil the metre.

TRANSLATION

Hail!

Verse 1. May honour be always given to the Creator who in his creation and preservation, is endowed with all the three qualities (*gunas*), but is without any (*aguna*) at the time of destruction.

V. 2. Honour be also to Him who is well known in the world as Trivikrama (Vishnu) and who is at all times saluted by the lord of the Devas (*i. e.* Indra) who is great on account of his immense prowess.

V. 3. Honour to Siva who (in bounty) surpasses the wish-giving tree, who though called *Sthanu* (lit. motionless) moves with great speed and who through his qualities satisfies the desires of the living beings.

V. 4. Victory be to king Erlanga who through his perfectly good reputation, intellect and merciful disposition follows the womankind, who through grasping the bow has got a deep stain in his hand, and who though a hero in battle is guilty of cowardice in that he turns his back to immorality and in that way only is his virtue modified.

V. 5. There was a king who was the crest-jewel of the protectors of the earth (*i. e.* kings), who had overcome a great number of kings and was renowned in the three worlds, who was likened to a lion in great courage, supported by whom for a long time the earth produced in immeasurable quantity and (thus) got a fast hold of the goddess of wealth who is transient (by nature)—he was the ruler of Yava (Java) endowed with splendour, renown and power and bore the name of the illustrious Isanatunga.

V. 6. His daughter, lovely an account of the purity of her mind and devoted to Sugata (Buddha) like unto a female swan which is lovely through its dwelling in the pure Manasa lake and possesses beautiful wings, was the princess Sri Isanatunga-vijaya who increased the joy of the king as the female swan does to the male swan.

V. 7. Then king Sri Lokapala who was an excellent prince and was a delight to the eyes, whose mind displayed (only) pure qualities made her, who equalled him in spendour, his beloved (queen) even as the milk-ocean (*Kshirasamudra*) made Mandakini equalling in splendour its beloved.

V. 8. From him there sprang a son excelling in power and (destined to be) an ornament of the earth. He for the welfare of the people filled the earth with splendour with his mind directed to the meditation of Bhava. He was like Vishnu in incomparable brilliance, was fearless, and rising

like the sun was ever ready to smash the foreheads of the elephants of his enemies as if they were (merely) earthen pitchers, and was the lord of kings.

V. 9. This incomparable lord of men was known by the name of Sri Makutavardhana, who was the sun of the family of Sri Isana and shone out brightly in valour.

V. 10. The very charming daughter of this prince, who through her excellence was like the Fortune incarnate of the ruler of Yava, received from her illustrious father the name of (?) *Guna-priya-dharma-patni* (*lit.* the lawful wife of one to whom virtue is dear) which name was known even beyond this island.[1]

V. 11. There was one Udayana born of an exceedingly pure race and sprung from a renowned royal family. It was he who lawfully married the illustrious princess Mahendradatta.

V. 12. From them there sprang as Rama sprang from Dasaratha a beautiful son whose name was Erlangadeva. He was the best of all the people, was graceful in the practice of fine arts, and like Rama surpassing Dasaratha was greater (than his father) through his excellent qualities and whose brilliant future was imagined by sages through his greatness.

V. 13. He being respectfully invited by his kinsman Sri Dharmavamsa, the lord of East Java, who was anxious to hear of his various virtues, was given in marriage to his (Dharmavamsa's) own daughter. Thus forthwith the high-souled one became famous in every way.

V. 14. Soon after that his (Dharmavamsa's) capital, where so long joyousness had ruled (?) even as in Indra's kingdom, was burnt to ashes. Then accompanied by a small band of horsemen (?) and best of servants he betook himself to the forest.

V. 15. Then in the great year 932 according to (the era of) the lord of Sakas, in the month of Magha on the thirteenth day of the bright half on Monday, there came to the monarch Erlanga the subjects and principal Brahmins and bowing respectfully addressed this prayer to him: 'Rule (ye) the earth to the extreme borders.'

V. 16. When his numerous opponents heard that this prince who had been anointed as the (future) emperor, had by his might, overcome the hosts of enemies, they also being frightened of the grasp of his serpent-like arms, display even to this date, an irresolute spirit which was formerly unknown to them.

V. 17. Numerous princes of Java enjoyed the earth because they were suppliants of their (?) rival and by virtue

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1 The sense of this verse is not quite clear to me. Does *dvīpāntara* here refer to *Jamvudvīpa* ?

of their royal birth their sons enjoyed (succession ?). But the prince Erlanga, born of a good family, and a leader among the potentates, while roaming about on this earth bears in his body only a couple of bitter enemies (which are the opposite conditions such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, *etc.*).

V. 18. Installed on his throne with his feet placed on the head of his vassals, consulted daily by his ministers who were devoted to the affairs of the state, he often takes his seat (in the court) with the ladies and surrounded by heroes (with) shining (arms). Even when a cause was lost it was always regarded as being won through his lustre (*i. e.* clear insight).

V. 19. The widow of his enemy thus laments: My husband has, all on a sudden, abandoned my children and myself, though he loved us dearly, in order to visit the nymphs of heaven. . .obedient to your order. You are renowned in the world and are of pitying heart, how could you then act so differently ? Oh king! where is your mercy ?

V. 20. Some great enemy (of this king) being desirous of emancipation. . . in order to obtain (?) the dirt of riches . . . Another having obtained from this best of kings charm (or counsel) which should secure the happiness of heaven for himself, became as it were his (*i. e.* the king's) disciple.

V. 21. . . . . What is the use of ardent desire for sexual passion ? His high mind is praised and (his) glory which causes purification and which is pure is always held in honour.

V. 22. (He was) like Indra among the gods, was bold (?) among the . . . . . . was the giver of fortune to his servants, was like Kubera to the hosts of supplicants and in killing was like Yama. Verily the Creator chose him as one who had in himself (the qualities of all) the guardians of the quarters.

V. 23. There was a king. . . . . His noble son was called Bhishmaprabhava. . . .

V. 24. And another of the name of Adhamapanuda who like Ravana possessed good many feet (?). . .

V. 25. Then the king (Erlanga) desirous of overcoming this prince suddenly burnt his capital so that nothing remained of it. Then again when 953 years in the Saka era had passed, this excellent monarch burnt over and again many of his cities.

V. 26. There was also in this country a woman of great power like a demoness. Undismayed he (*i. e.* Erlanga) drew near her perilous country. It was in the Saka year 954 that this king of great fame, pierced this target.

V. 27. Like a fiery serpent frequently darting out its

tongue, he, through his ability, burnt the utterly uncivilised southern region. After having obtained much booty and distributed it among his servants, he only took away the glory for himself in the midst of the best of Brahmins and ascetics.

V. 28. Thereafter imbued with ambition, when the year 954 of the Saka era had passed, in the month of Bhadra, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight on an auspicious Wednesday, this prince who is honoured in the world, departed westwards with a vast army of heroic men who were ready for the fight and gained a complete victory over a prince named Vijaya.

V. 29. There in the Saka year 957 on the eighth day of the dark half of Kartika on Thursday, the king Vijaya was seized by his own troops through the application of the means (of statecraft) as taught by Vishnugupta (Canakya) and died soon afterwards.

V. 30. In the year 959, of (the era of) the lord of the Sakas, on the new moon day of Kartika on Thursday, the noble and illustrious king of the island of Yava set himself on his jewelled throne with his feet placed on the heads of his enemies, and is now rejoicing in his victory.

V. 31. And now the Royal Fortune unable to find anybody else, pressing with her fair armies, deeply embraces Erlangadeva, who has conquered all the directions, East and others, who has destroyed all his enemies, and who has now become the paramount ruler of the whole earth.

V. 32. Then having subdued his enemies who were rich in valour by means of his prowess and statecraft, the king Erlanga, a great ruler by birth, in order to take pleasure in the worship of gods has now caused to be built through his devotion or (to give an exhibition of his) unimpaired power, a holy hermitage on the slope of the excellent hill Pugavat.

V. 33. Hearing of this incomparable royal hermitage which was almost like the pleasure garden of Indra, men vied with one another in going there without ceasing and looking with eyes expanded with wonder. They brought garlands, etc., as friendly presents and their mouths were full of praise. They considered this king as the foremost of all the princes deserving honour and as honourable as Manu through his eminence.

V. 34. May the community of citizens wander along the path of the virtuous. May the course of the ministers be just. May the ascetics strive after the good of all beings. With regard to the king this is the prayer: since all these (mentioned above) are possible when the king has a (long). life and governs the earth with justice. Therefore, may the king, the illustrious Erlangadeva, live long.

2. THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ON THE IMAGE OF MAHAKSHOBYA AT SIMPANG (SURABAYA): SAKA, 1211.

(Kern, V G., Vol. VII. pp. 190ff)

The present inscription which has been fully discussed by Brandes in Notulen Bat. Gen. (1898) and in some of his other papers, begins with a salutation to Tathagata. Then in verse 3 we find a reference to the sage Bharaḍ who finding two princes bent on hostility for the kingdom, divided the kingdom of Java into two parts by means of *kumbha, vajra* and *udaka*. The *Nagarakritagama* also mentions the division of Java by Bharaḍ, a contemporary of Erlanga, with the water-pot, *vajra* and water. Verses 8 and 9 inform us that when Sri-Jaya-Vishnuvardhana was the ruler of Jangala, he re-united the country to the joy of the people. We know from the *Pararaton* and the *Nagarakritagama* that in 1144 Saka Ken Arok *(alias* Rajasa) conquered Kediri (to the west) and united it to Jangala (which was to the east) and thus founded the Singasari Kingdom. We are not sure if we find an allusion to this fact here but Vishnuvardhana or Harivardhana is sufficiently known from the Pararaton. When the poet refers to him as uniting the country it can not be reconciled with former statements. He had, however, to fight against a certain Lingapati. With verse 10 begins the panegyric of Kritanagara who is named here as Sri-Jnana-Sivavajra, the son of Harivardhana and Jaya-vardhani. From the subsequent verses it appears that Nadajna, the minister in charge of religious endowments, established an image of the king in the form of Mahakshobhya. We know from the *Nagarakṛitagama* that king Kritanagara (1268-1292 A. D.) was an adept in Tantric practices and as the present inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a statue of Kritanagara in the garb of a monk it is likely that the king received divine honours even in his life-time. We doubt if this honour was merited at all.

The date of the establishment of the statue as given in verse 14 is Wednesday the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Aśvina of the Saka year 1211 which according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeres* regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 21st September, 1289 A. D. when the *Nakshatra* was *Anuradha*.

A

Text.

आद्यौ नमामि सर्वज्ञ'[1] ज्ञानकायन्तथागतं ।

सर्व्वलक्ष्मातिगुह्यस्थं सदसत्पक्षवर्जितं[2] ॥ १ ॥

अन्वयस्सर्व्वसिद्धिन्वा यन्देहस्तैरवाप्तसदा ।

शककालमिदं वक्ष्ये राजकीर्त्तिप्रकाशनं ॥ २ ॥

यो (यः) पुरा पवित्रतरश्रेष्ठ आर्य्यो भराडभिज्ञतः ॥ (अ)

ज्ञानसिद्धिं समागम्याभिज्ञालाभो मुनीश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥

महायोगीश्वरो वीरः सत्त्वेषु करुणात्मकः ।

सिद्धाचार्य्यो महावीरो रागादिक्लेशवर्जितः ॥ ४ ॥

रत्नाकरप्रमाणात्तु द्वैपीकृत्य यवावनीं ।

क्षितिभेदनसामर्थ्यकुम्भवप्रोदकेन वै ॥ ५ ॥

परस्परविरोधेन नृपय'र्युद्धकाङ्क्षिनोः ।

यत'था)स्माज्जाङ्गलेत्येषा पंजलुविषया स्मृता ॥ ६ ॥

दिनयस्म'त्'[3] ररक्षेमां जयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनः ।

श्रीजयवर्द्धनीभार्य्यो जगन्नाथोत्तमः प्रभुः ॥ ७ ॥

आजन्मपरिशुद्धाङ्गः कृपालुः ध(लुर्ध)मंतत्परः ।

पार्थिवानन्दनकृत्वा शुद्धकीर्तिपराक्रमात् ॥

एकीकृत्य पुनर्भूमौ प्रीत्यर्थञ्जगतां सदा ।

धर्म्मसंरक्षणार्थम्वा पित्रादिस्थापनाय च ॥ ९ ॥

यथैव क्षितिराजेन्द्रश्श्रीहरिवर्द्धनात्मजः ।

श्रीजयवर्द्धनीपुत्रः चतुर्द्वीपेश्वरो मुनिः ॥ १० ॥

अशेषतत्त्वसम्पूर्णो धर्मशास्त्रविदाम्वरः ।

श्रीयशोद्धारक्रियोद्युक्तो धर्म्मशासनदेशकः ॥ ११ ॥

श्रीज्ञानवज्र(व प्राक्य ल्य)श्रितरत्नविभूषणः ।

प्रज्ञारश्मिविशुद्धाङ्गस्सम्बोधिज्ञानपारगः ॥ १२ ॥

शुभक्त्या तं प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वयम्पूर्व्वम्प्रतिष्ठितं ।

श्मशाने वूररेनाम्नि महाक्षोभ्यानुरूपतः ॥ १३ ॥

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1 There is a mark of punctuation after each *pāda* which is not necessary.

2 The metre of this verse and the rest is *Anushṭubh*.

3 Krom reads *kintu yasmāt*. The second is certainly a conjunct letter.

अवचक्के शकेन्द्राब्दे मासे फाल्गुणसंज्ञके ।
पञ्चम्यां शुक्लपक्षे च वारे पक्वुसंज्ञके ॥ १४ ॥
सिन्तनाम्नि च षष्ठे च करणे विष्टिसंस्कृते ।
अनुराधेपि नक्षत्रे मित्रे महेन्द्रमण्डले ॥ १५ ॥
सौभाग्ययोगसम्बन्धे सो(सौ)म्यं चैव मुहूर्त्तके ।
हिताय सर्ब(र्व)सत्त्वानां प्रागेव नृपतेस्सदा ।
सपुत्रपो(पौ)त्रदारस्य त्रित्येकीभावकारणात् ॥ १७ ॥
अथास्य दासभूतोहं नादज्ञो नामकीर्त्तितः ।
विद्याहीनोपि सम्मूढो धर्म्मक्रियास्वतत्परः ॥ १८ ॥
धर्म्माध्यक्षत्वमासाद्य कृपयैवास्य तत्त्वतः ।
स(श)ककालं समुद्धृत्य ब(व)ज्रज्ञान(ना)श्रयापदः[1] ॥ १९ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(v. 1.) First of all I revere the Tathagata, the omniscient and the embodiment of all knowledge, who lies hidden in all the elements (*skandhas*) and who is devoid of association with things existing or non-existent.

(v. 2.) Next do I honour, respectfully, the universal success and shall (then) narrate (the following history connected with) the Saka era describing the glory of kings.

(v. 3.) The venerable Bharaḍ, the lord amongst sages and the best of learned men, who, in ancient times, through his experience, obtained (perfection in) knowledge and thus acquired the supernatural faculties (*abhijna*).[2]

(v. 4.) Who was the lord of the great *yogins*, calm and compassionate towards living beings, who was a Siddha teacher, a great hero and who was devoid of the stains of attachment, etc.

(vv. 5-6) Who devided into two the land of Java which was as exte... e as the sea, by means of the water pot

1 This is the reading I can make out from the facsimile. Kern reads *sakakālasambandha vajrajñānaśiva* and suggests the restoration *śakakālas samhaddheyam vajrajñānaśivāśrayaḥ*. But according to this reading the metre would be faulty in the 3rd *pāda*.

2 *Abhijñā* is the supernatural faculty of a *Buddha* of which five are mentioned : (1) taking any form at will, (2) hearing to any distance, (3) seeing to any distance (4) penetrating men's thoughts and (5) knowing their state and antecedents.

(*kumbha*), *vajra* and water[1] (?) which had the power of breaking up the earth and (gave them to) the two princes who out of hostility, were bent on strife—therefore this Jangala is known as the Pamjalu *vishaya*.

(vv. 7-9) But, hereafter the lord Jayasrivisnuvardhana who had as his spouse Sri Jayavardhani, who was the best among the rulers of the earth, who was pure in body from his (very) birth, who was compassionate and exclusively devoted to the Law, who caused delight to (other) rulers through his pure fame and valour—again united this land to the delight of the people in order to maintain the Law and to establish his ancestors[2] and ruled it (with justice).

(vv. 10-12) The sage of a king named Sri Jnanasivavajra, the son of Sri Harivardhana and Sri Jayavardhani was the lord of the four islands, was full of boundless knowledge, was the best of those knowing the Law and was the instructor in the code of laws, whose mind was his jewel-ornament and who was eager to do the work of repairing (religious institutions), whose body was purified by the rays of wisdom and who was fully versed in the knowledge of *sambodhi*—was like Indra among the rulers of the earth.

(vv. 13-17) Having set up with due devotion the statue of him (*i. e.*, the king ?) who was already consecrated (as such ?) in the shape of Mahakshobhya, in the year 1211 of the Saka era in the month of Asuji (Aśvina), on the day known as Pa-ka-bu, the 5th day of the bright half (of the month), in the *parvan* named Sinta and the *karaṇa* vishṭi, when the *nakshatra* Anuradha was in the orb of Indra, during Saubhagya *yoga* and Saumya *muhûrta* and in Tulâ *râśi*— for the good of all beings, and foremost of all, for that of the king with his wife, son and grandson owing to his bringing about the union of the kingdom.

(vv. 18-19) I his (*i. e.* king's) humble servant, who is known by the name of Nâdajña, and though ignorant, devoid of learning and little inclined to pious deeds, was made through his grace alone the superintendent of religious rites, have prepared this description by order of Vajrajnana (?)[3]

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1 This point is not quite clear to me. Kern takes *vajra* in the sense of 'diamond.' But *vajra* is also a kind of *kuśa* grass. Does it mean that the sage divided the land with a sacred libation of water and *darbha* which is in keeping with the Dharmaśāstras ?

2 *thāpana* may mean erecting (an image etc.). Is this a reference to the custom of establishing images of ancestors and preceptors as found in the Pratimā Nāṭaka of Bhāsa and the Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II ? Kern suggests the correction into *mitrādi* and translates as 'to establish his friends (in security).'

3. The translation of the last *pāda* is only conjectural. Kern translates 'I have prepared this poem in honour of Vajrajñānaśiva.'

VI. INSCRIPTIONS FROM SUMATRA

1. Inscription on the back of the Statue of Amoghapasa (at Padang Chandi in middle Sumatra)—Śaka year 1269 (Kern V. G. Vol. VII. pp. 163 ff.)

Prof. Blagden thinks that the letters of this inscription are very similar to those in Burmese inscriptions. The language is an impossible sort of Sanskrit and the meaning has to be guessed in many places. Amoghapâśa is here represented with his 13 male and female followers. The poet has no regard for rules of Sanskrit grammar and syntax. His spelling is often incorrect though metrically the verses are all right. The inscription consists of 27 lines of writing and is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are altogether 12 verses.

The principal point in connection with this inscription is however clear. It celebrates the establishment of the statue of Amoghapâśa by the *âchârya* Dharmaśekhara at the instance of Adityavarman, the same Sumatran prince who, in the inscription of Batu Beragung, presents a statue of Mañjuśrî to Java. Kern thinks that most probably the poet and author of the Batu Beragung inscription is identical with that of the present inscription as same kind of Sanskrit appears in both. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the same kind of barbarous Sanskrit is found often in India also in some works of the Buddhist Tantric literature. A note on this inscription by Dr. B. R. Chatterji is appended herewith.

[The Tantric character of these inscriptions has already been referred to in my article 'Tantrism in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java'[1] in Part I. There are four inscriptions of Ādityavarman of Sumatra. From the first (Mañjuśrī statue inscription of 1265 śaka era—T. L. en V. Ned. Ind. 1921 p. 199-200) we learn that Ādityavarman's Buddhism was not of the orthodox type. The Mañjuśrī statue was consecrated by a priest belonging to the Bhairava sect which worshipped Mañjuśrī as the peaceful aspect of Bhairava. The second inscription (dated 1269 ś. e.—Kern V. G. VII. p. 165) describes the consecration of a group of Amoghapāśa with his companions and at the same time glorifies a god Mātanginiśa and a goddess Tārā. Here again we are in a Śiva-Buddha environment. The third inscription (of Buket Gombak dated 1278 s. e—Kern Transcriptie in Oudh. Versl., 1912, p. 51-2) contains a nāmābhisheka of the prince, sutathāgata vajradhairya—the noble Buddha of the unswerving steadfastness.

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1 First published in the *Modern Review*, January. 1930.

Further on Prince Ādityavarman is also styled ekāṅgavīra (hero with one aim) which refers to the same steadfastness. Then again the Prince is styled Kāmarāja-adhimukti-sadāsmritijña (Kama whose endeavours are continuously directed towards mukti) and Agamajña pañcha-shaḍabhijñā-supūrṇayātrā (known of the āgamas, known of the pancha-makāras and the six transcendental knnowledges and whose conduct is perfect. In this inscription is mentioned the dance of the conquest of wisdom). Here also we are not on the familiar ground of orthodox Buddhism. The fourth inscription (of Suruwaso dated 1297 ś. e. Kern V. G. VI, p. 257) describes the Bhairava consecration of the prince. The fifth and the last (Kubur Raja inscription of 1300 ś. e.—Kern V. G. VI p. 257) is a funeral inscription. It sums up the Buddhistic virtues and makes the prince the incarnation of Lokeśvara.

No one will question that as in the case of Kritanagara here, too, we have to do with a prince whose Buddhism could have been no other than Kālachakra Buddhism—the only school which paves the way for a syncretism with Saivism in its Bhairava aspect.

Coming back again to the Mātaṅginīśa inscription (of 1269 ś. e.) it must be, as Kern remarks, that Mātaṅginīśa and Tārā are Amoghapāśa and his Sakti and presumably they are Buddhistically fitted aspects of Siva and Durgā.

Mātaṅginī occurs in the Tantras as one of the Daśa-mahā-vidyās. This word also means a girl of low caste who acts as Yoginī in the *chakra*. Ādityavarman's queen was the daughter of a tribal headman. As M. Moens supposes, it is probably Ādityavarman's queen who is the Mātaṅginī of this inscription and Ādityavarman the Mātaṅginīśa and the amorous scene depicted in such glowing terms may be a Tāntric *chakra* ceremony.

In several Tantras, and even in Buddhist Tantras (as shown by M. Blonay in his Materiaux pour server a l'histoire de Tārā), we come across such voluptuous dancing scenes.

We now pass on to a really horrible scene. The Suruwaso inscription (1297 ś. e.) at first sight seems to be merely the description of a picnic in which the Prince is represented as "seated on a high seat, eating,...drinking, laughing.." with an indescribable perfume rising all around him. But, as M. Moens interprets, there is much hidden behind these apparently innocent words, If we read this inscription in the light of the 'Guhya-samājatantra' (a Kālachakra work) or of the career of Padmasambhaba in Tibet, the 'high seat' would be corpses piled up high, 'eating' would be eating of human flesh, 'drinking' would be drinking blood and the 'perfume' would represent the smell of burning funeral pyres in the śmaśāna. The whole scene would be then the Bhairava consecration of Ādityavarman.

In my book 'Indian Cultutural Influence in Cambodia' (pp. 258-263) I have said that it was only in Pāla Bengal that such a blend of Buddhism and Saivism took place in the melting pot of Tāntrism and it must have been from Bengal that such rites were imported into the Java of Kritanagara and the Sumatra of Ādityavarman.[1]—B.R.C.

1 This 'introduction to the inscription of Adityavarman' is based upon M. Moens article in Tijd. Bat. Gen., LXIV, 1924.

TEXT

[Metres :—*Sārdūlavikridita* vv. 1,5,8,9 ; *Mālini*, vv. 2,7,11. *Anushtubh* vv. 3.4,10 : *Upajati*, v. 6, *Drutavilamvita*, v. 12.]

(I) स्व(शु)भमस्तु ।

• श(स द्धर्म्मश्च सुवर्द्धनात्ममहिमा सो(सौ)भाग्यवान् सी(शी)लवान्[1]
(2) सा(शा)स्त्रज्ञा सुविसु(शु)द्धयोगलहरीशोभा प्रवृद्धासते ।
सौन्दर्यं गिरिक(3)न्दरान्वितगजे सन्दोहवाणी प्र-
मा(?)यावैरिति(त)मिश्च(त्र)धिकक्रतमहा[1](4)नादित्यवर्म्मोदयः ॥
[1*] ॥

तदनु गुणसमृद्धिःस्स(श)स्त्रसा(शा स्त्रप्रवृद्धिः
(5) जिनसमयगुणाब्धिः कार्यसंरम्भबुद्धिः ।
तनुमदनविसु(शु)द्धिः सत्यता (6) सर्व्वसिद्धिः
धनकनकसमाप्तिः[1] देवतुहन् प्रपात्तिः ॥ [2*] ॥
प्रतिष्ठो ष्ठे)यं (7) सुगतानं(नां) आचार्यन्धर्म्मसे शे)खरः ।
नाम्ना क ग)गण(न)गञ्जस्य मञ्जु(8)श्रीरिव सौहृदि ॥ [3*] ॥
प्रतिस्थो ष्ठे)यं हित(त त्वाय सत्वंस्व(9)स्वा(स्व)सुका(खा)श्रय(यः) ।
देवैरमोघगासेप:(शेशः) श्रीमदादित्यवर्म्मणः ॥ [4*] ॥
(10) मूलद्वौ धरणे पतङ्गचरणे मदा(न्दा)न्तसा(शा के सु(शु भो
भास्म(स्व त्कर्क्कटके दिनै(11 रपि तथा पूर्णोन्दु योगायते ।
तारैरुत्तरसिद्धियोगघटिकाकाललायमूर्त्तस्वरा(12 त्
जीर्णोल्लुरिता समाहितलसत्सम्बोधमार्गार्त्थिभिः ॥ [5*] ॥
स्वस्ति समस्तभुवना(13)धारहाटक(कः)भावाश्रमगृहा ह)बि वि)शा-
रद(दः) । अपारमहायानयोगविज्ञानविनोद(दः) । अपि च ध-(14)
राधिपप्रतिराजबि(वि)कटसंकटकिरीटकोटिसङ्गनि(नी)तकमणिद्वयनाट-
ककारण(णः) । श्रीमत(15 श्रीउदयादित्यवर्म्म(र्म्मा) प्रतापराक्रम-
राजेन्द्रमौलिमणि[2]वर्म्मदेवमहाराजाधिराज(जः) । स बि(वि ज्ञे-
या(16)माज्ञाङ्कुरोति ।

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1 There is an additional mark of punctuation here as well as at the end of each *pāda*.
2 Kern reads *mauli-māli*

चि(त्रि)हङ्गमातङ्गचि(वि)लाससो(शो भिते
कान्तारसौगन्धो(न्धि)सुरद्र(द्रु)माकुले ।
सुराङ्गना(17 लाक्षितकाञ्चनालये
मातङ्गिनीसा(शा)सुरदो विकागते ॥ [6॥*]
अनुभवधिवि(वि)शेषोन्मादमन्दोहहाहा
(18) अकि(खि)लदितिसुतानान्देवचि(वि)घाघरेसः(शः) ।
अपि मधुकरगोतैश्च स्वर्यभोगासितीनाम
अचलति चलति(19)त्तस्सो(श्यो)भमातङ्गिनीसो(शः) ॥ [7*॥]
हाहाहूहूक(ग)णेन सम्भ्रमलसत् लोकार्थभूम्यागतः
सौन्दर्य्यं ससि शशि(20 पूगर्यावत् कुस(श)लभे हृत्सो(त्सो)भतालंकृते
नाम्ना उद्ध(द्द यवम्र्मगुसकलज्ञोग्गीपतिनायकः
सः त्यक्त्वा जिनरू 21)पसम्भ्रमगतो मातङ्गिनीसु(शू)न्यहा ॥[8*॥]
रजसः जयता बसुन्धरमिदम्मातङ्गिनीपाश्रय
भक्तोत्सन्नियवैरिमार्गाच-(22 रितासर्व्वस्वसंहारकृत् ।
सद्येत् क्षान्तिबलाबि(वि)लासिदमने संभ्रान्तकुलो ल)स्सद(दा)
पातिः प्रत्यदलालने प्रकटि(23 तक्रूरै रैः) पलाशगति ॥ [9॥*]
ब(व)प्रप्र प्रा)कारमद्भुयस्था प्रतिमायं जिनालयः ।
श्रीमान(न)मोघपासेमः(शेषः) ह-(24)रिः उदयछन्दरः ॥ [10*] ॥
सुरु(र तरुदितपाणिस्सत्यसङ्गीतवाणिः
रिपुमृगजितकीर्त्तिः पुष्पधन्वाख्यमूर्तिः ।
म-(25)लयपुरहितार्थ्थः सर्व्वकार्य्यस्स(स)मर्थ्थः
गुणरशिलविभातिः देवतूकपातिः ॥ [11*] ॥
उदयपर्व्वत (26)सो(शो)भितरूपतिः ।
उदयद्रि(भूति ?) नरेश्वरनायकः ।
उदयवैरिबलोन्नत[मृ]द्यते
उदयछन्दरकी(27)र्त्तिमहीतले ॥ [12*] ॥

TRANSLATION.[1]

Let there be prosperity !

V. 1. Great is the rise of (king) Adityavarman which has set at naught the enemy which is darkness in shape

1 The sense is very obscure in many places, hence the translation is only tentative.

of attachment (*mâyâ*)—Adityavarman, who is versed in the true faith, who possesses the increasing glory of his own self, who is fortunate, virtuous and acquainted with the scriptures, who by a series of very pure *yoga* exercises exists in increased splendour, who in beauty. . . .

V. 2. Endowed with an abundance of virtues, versed in the use of weapons and sciences, an ocean of the laws proclaimed by Jina (*i.e.* Buddha), knowing how to begin a work, with body free from sensual pleasures, reaching perfection[1] in universal success and acquiring an abundance of gold and wealth—is the minister (*patih*) Deve Tuhan[2].

V. 2. This consecration of the (statue of) Buddha under the name of Gaganaganja[3] is performed by the *âchârya* Dharmaśekhara, who is, as it were, a Mañjuśrî in friendliness.

V. 4. This statue of Amoghapaśâ which is conducive to the welfare of all beings has been consecrated by the *devas* for the well being of Adityavarman.

V. 5. In the auspicious Saka year 1269[4] when the sun was in the Karkaṭa (*râśi*), on a fullmoon day when the position of the stars was towards the north, in Siddhi *yoga*, Kâruṇya *ghatikâ* and Svarâṭ muhûrta (?)—repairs were made by people who wanted the path of enlightenment (?)

Ll. 12-16. Hail ! He who is the gold (filling up) the space of the entire earth, who is expert in social anP ascetic life, who takes delight in thoroughly understanding the *yoga* of the boundless Mahayana (philosophy)—Again, who is the source of a dramatic rendering of two jewels (?) gained by the collection of a million jewels from the large mass of diadems of the enemy kings—the illustrious Udayadityavarman, the gem in the crowns of the best of kings, a *maharajadhiraja.* He gives this order to be known.

V. 6. In the golden residence adorned (*lakhita*) by the heavenly damsels, in the midst of *devadaru* trees having the scent of lotus (*kantara*), rendered beautiful with

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1 I have taken *atyatā* in the sense of *atyanta*.

2 Deva is the title used in Bali for Kshatriyas. *Pātih* is a Javanese and Malaya word while *tūhan* is the Malaya word for master. It may be assumed that the minister whose panegyric follows that of the prince, presided at the function of the consecration of the statue at the instance of the prince while the actual ritual was performed by the Acharya.

3 Gaganagañja is a special epithet of Amoghapāśa. In some books it is given as the name of a Bodhisattva, not of a Dhyānī Buddha.

4 This verse is bewildering. I have taken *Nanda*=9, *pataṅga*-(bee) *charaṇa*=6, *dvau*=2, and *mūla* (source ?)=1.

the pastimes of birds and elephants, while Matanginisa[1] was (sporting) in the divine lake.

V. 7. Matanginisa, who is the lord of all the sons of Diti (*i. e. Daityas*), gods and Vidyadharas and also that of the heavenly damsels[2] enjoying dancing to the to the accompaniment of the humming of bees, is in the enjoyment of particular exerberance of spirits (?) and moves gracefully.

V. 8. He, who removes the loneliness of Matangini, who keeps the company of (*gandharvas* like) Haha, Huhu, who in beauty, prosperity and goodness of heart is like full-moon, has, after putting off the form of Jina, come down on this earth for (the benefit of) the world under the name of Udayavarmagupta,[3] the leader of all the rulers on this earth.

V. 9. May the protector (? *pâtra*)[4] of Matangini preserve us and the earth from ruin, may he enjoy the treasures which he collected for those who followed the conduct of an enemy *kshatriya* (?), may he, who is born of a noble lineage and is radiant in force of forbearance, show his superiority[5] in restraining those who have displayed wickedness and in protecting the good (?)—he is the Pati (Prime minister).

V. 10. The charming statue established inside the diamond wall of the abode of Jina (?) is (that of) the lord Amoghapasa Udayasundara.

V. 11. He, who puts his hand on the heavenly tree, whose speech is verily like music, who has acquired fame (by conquering) the enemy kings, whose form is like that of the god of love, who is able to perform all deeds, who is bent on the welfare of Malayapura and who excels in a great number of virtues (?)—is the minister Deva Tuhan.

V. 12. Whose beauty adorns the Udaya mountain, who is the leader (minister?) of the prosperous ruler (?), who disdains the prosperity of the rising enemy (?)—fine is the glory of Udaya on this earth.

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1 This is according to Kern the demonaic form of Amoghapāśa.
2 Asitā is the name of an *apsaras*.
3 This may be another name of Ādityavarman.
4 *Pātra* may mean also a 'Minister.'
5 Kern suggest *palāśonnati* According to him the prince is represented as an incarnation of Mātanginīśa. Cases of such deification are not rare in Java and Kamboj. In the *Nagarakritāgama* Hayam Wuruk is represented as identical with Siva-Buddha. This stanza seems to be a panegyric of the minister.

2. TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SUMATRA.

(Kern, V. G. Vol. VII pp. 139 ff.)

(i) The Rock Inscription at Pasir Panjang—*circa.* 900 A. D.

This inscription was found on a rock at Pasir Panjang in the island of the great Karimun. It consists of three lines of writing in very big Nagari letters of the 9th or 10th century A. D. It was in 1873 that K. F. Holle heard of this inscription. Brandes (in Notulen, 1887) gave the following reading :

1 महायानिक

0 गोलयविट्रतश्री

3 गौतमश्रीपादा(:)

and translated as 'The brilliant feet of the glorious Gautama, the Mahayanist, were a Golayantra here." Kern thinks that Gautama was regarded by the Mahayana school in the Golayantra (the universe ?). Golayantra, however, is an astronomical instrument and I would prefer to translate the text as—"The venerable Sri Gautamasri, the Mahayanist (who was) a mechanist." In that case, however, one would expect the reading *Golayantrika.* But as there is no facsimile given by Kern, I can not say if there is any error in reading. Kern's objection that the name Gautama is very unusual for a Buddhist is not well founded. In the Pali Canon we find Gautami as the name of a nun, but here probably the name was Gautamasri.

(ii) The Gunung Tua statue inscription—Saka year 946.

This inscription is incised on the base of a bronze statue of Avalokitesvara, represented with four arms and standing between two Saktis. It was originally kept in the house of the Raja of Gunung Tua (East Tapanuli) and is at present preserved in the Batavia Muscusm.

Brandes first deciphered it in Notulen Bat. Gen. 1887. It runs as follows :

स्वस्ति [1*] शकवर्षातीत ९४६ चैत्रमास-तिथि त्रि(तृ)तीय(या)

स(शु)क्र—शुक्रवार—तत्कल (तत्काले) जुरु पागडै स(सू)र्य्य बर्बतु

भटार लोकनाथ [।*] इमानि कुशलमूलानि सर्व्वसत्वसाधारणीकृत्वा

(त्य) अनुत्तराया (ं) सम्यक्सम्बोधौ परिणाम (ं) यामि ॥

The three underlined words are Malay words. The inscription may be translated thus: Hail! In the Saka year 946 on Friday, the third day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra at this date Surya the master-smith constructed the lord Lokanatha. Through making these good works the common property of all creatures I become ripe for the highest perfect wisdom.

The latter part of the incription forms the regular invocation of a Bodhisatva. We may compare with this the usual Mahayanist formula found inscribed on statues dedicated by Buddhists, *viz.* **यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापितृपूर्वङ्गमं कृत्वा सकलसत्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये.**

The date given in the inscription is not regular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeras the third day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in Saka 946 (A.D. 1224) fell on a Sunday (15th March.) In Saka 947 (A.D. 1025) however Chaitra sudi 3 fell on a Friday.

3. THE KUBUR RAJA INSCRIPTION OF ADITYAVARMAN—

CIRCA SAKA 1300
Kern V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 217 ff.)

The following inscription belongs to the well-known prince Adityavarman of Sumatra. The text is written in a sort of barbarous Sanskrit and the sense is not always very clear. The inscription has suffered a little towards the end of the first six lines and also at the end. The text as given by Kern is the following:

(1) ॐ मांल विरादरा[1]- (2) ञ-द्वयवर्म्म (3) म्पू-(पु) त्रकया (न)क-
(4) मेदिनीन्द्र- (5) शु(द्ध)कृता ञा[2]विल (6) म्घकुस(घ)लप्रस-
(7) ॥ ध्रु ॥ मैत्रीकरु (8) या ञा मुदित उ (9) पेक्षा ञा ॥ याचक्र
(क) (10) जया(न)कल्पतरू[प] (॥) म्मदाम ॥ ञ ॥ ञादि (11)
त्यवर्म्मम्भू(भू)पकुलिस(घ) (13) धरवङ्घ्य ॥ प्र (14) तीक्ष अवतारं
(15) श्रीलोकेश्वर (19) देव ॥ मै — —

1 The last letter is uncertain.
2 This letter here and elsewhere below may simply be a mark of punctuation.

APPENDIX

The Sanskrit Portion of the Pereng Stone Inscription
(Kern, V. G., Vol. IV, pp. 279 ff)

This inscription to which we have referred on p. 36th II consists of 22 lines of writing and contains five Sanskrit verses in Arya metre. The text of these verses which cover ll. 1·6 and ll. 17-20 are given below. It will be observed that this is a Saiva inscription and refers to Agastya under the name of Valaing. It is dated 785 Saka.

1 यत उत्पन्नं विश्वं यत्र च जातं विलीनमपि यत्र ।

2 तस्मै नमो भगवते शिवाय शिवकारणे तुभ्यं ॥ [1*]

3 पथगापि दूरदूरिता शून्यापि हितप्रदा निमिषपूर्णा ।

4 शिविरवृताप्यतिपूता शिला यतो जन्मिभिः पूज्या ॥ [2*]

5 यावत्खे रविशशिनौ यावद्धात्री चतुस्समुद्रवृता ।

6 यावद्दशदिशि वायुस्तावद्भक्तिर्वलैङ्नाम्नः ॥ [3*]

17 विहिते कलशजनाम्ना भद्रालोकाह्वये विबुधगेहे ।

18 तस्याथ पुत्रपौत्राः भवन्तु लब्धेष्टपदजीवाः ॥ [4*]

अन्य

19 च ॥ जगतां शिवमस्तु सदा गोद्विजराज्ञां तथा शिवस्तानां ।

20 अतिभक्तिदानधर्मा भवन्तु नारातिरागेर्ष्याः ॥ [5*]

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